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THE DEVELOPMENT OF POOR RELIEF IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

IT IS well known that the humanitarian movement in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was one of the important social effects of the industrial revolution. That great outpouring of human sympathy for the unfortunate elements of society—the poor, defectives, sick, and other unfortunates—continues to bear fruit on an ever increasing scale. Never in the world's history have such unprecedented amounts of money been granted by private and public agencies to alleviate human suffering. While the modern historical development of this movement is well known, the colonial background of one phase, poor relief in America, is not so familiar. It is, therefore, proposed in this article to discuss some of the conditions that confronted colonial Virginia,¹ and the public agencies devised to solve problems of this character.

For the historical background of poor relief in Virginia one needs to call to mind important English economic and social changes in the sixteenth century.² With the expansion of England's foreign trade and increased demand abroad for woolen cloth, sheep-raising

¹ For economic and social conditions in Virginia consult P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols. New York, 1896), and *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1910).

² E. P. Cheyney, *Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century*; A. P. Usher, *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*.

was stimulated. This was the important reason for the enclosure movement,¹ the fencing in of open fields for grazing, and in consequence the decline of an agricultural economy to pasture farming. There followed a surplus of unemployed agricultural laborers, for a few herders took the place of many farm laborers. Thus the number of unemployed and poor persons had been on the increase for a long period before American colonization began. In fact, at this date, 1607, relief of the poor was one of the most pressing questions of the day. Not only the unemployed but also the vagabonds, rogues, beggars, paupers, and the criminal classes increased rapidly.² Wages of farm laborers fell as low as a shilling a day, while rents and prices rose several fold.³

Previous to the confiscation of the church property by Henry VIII there had been little legislation with respect to the poor, for the guilds and monasteries had been active in poor relief.⁴ With the confiscation of the main sources of supply, poor-relief legislation increased. Thus an act of Edward VI instructs collectors "to gently ask and demand of every man and woman what they of their charity will give weekly towards relief of the poor."⁵

The important act of 1562,⁶ the Statute of Artificers, attempted to solve many of the problems mentioned above and others such as the wages and hours of labor, the checking of enclosures, the fixing of prices, unemployment, pauperism, and apprenticeship as a system for national welfare. Migrations from the rural districts to the towns, due to the conversion of arable to grazing land, led a contemporary preacher to lament thus:⁷ "O, Merciful Lord! What a

¹ Harriett Bradley, "The Enclosure of Open Fields England," in *Columbia Studies in History*, Vol. LXXX.

² C. J. Ribton-Turner, *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging*; Frank Aydelotte, *English Rogues and Vagabonds*.

³ J. E. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1793*, 7 vols.

⁴ E. M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief*; Sir George Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Laws*, 3 vols.

⁵ 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 2. See also 5 Eliz., c. 3 "An Act for the relief of the Poor"; also in G. W. Prothero, *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents*, pp. 41-45.

⁶ 5 Eliz., c. 4. See also in Prothero, *Select Statutes*, pp. 45-54. Cf. J. F. Scott, *Historical Essays on Apprenticeship*, etc., chap. iii, "The Statute of Artificers"; O. J. Dunlop and R. D. Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour*.

⁷ Scott, *op. cit.* p. 27.

number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea with idle vagabonds, and dissembling catiffs mixed among them, lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster." This movement was not to the liking of the craft guilds and town artisans, who wished to protect their calling from an oversupply of labor. In the country districts conditions were almost as bad. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia*¹ (written in 1515) complains that sheep from being meek and tame now "consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses and cities"; that the husbandmen were forced out of their homes, or compelled to sell all for almost nothing and to depart away, poor, seyle [innocent], wretched fools, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers, with their young babes . . . out of their known and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. . . . And when they have wandered abroad . . . what can they else do but steal, . . . or else go about a begging. And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not: whom no man will set to work, though they never so willingly profer themselves thereto."

The Statute of Artificers attempted to fix wages and hours of labor and, through the system of apprenticeship, raise the standard of skill in the industrial arts. But more than this it tried to solve the problem of pauperism and vagabondage by placing the worker of the nation in the occupation for which he was best suited. It dealt with the able-bodied poor not by giving alms but by forcing them to work, and through the apprenticeship clauses provided for children. Persons not otherwise employed between 12 and 60 were ordered to be servants in husbandry. Youths who refused to serve as apprentices might be imprisoned. Another clause forbade anyone below the rank of a yeoman to withdraw from an agricultural pursuit in order to be apprenticed to a trade. This doomed the farm laborer to his calling notwithstanding the scarcity of work.

The poor, however, increased, and in 1601 was passed the great Poor Law Act, which emphasized the system of apprenticing poor children. It attempted to "provide work for those who could work, relief for those who could not, and punishment for those who would not."² The Act of 1601 provided that overseers of the poor should

¹ *Utopia*, ed. Edward Arber (1869), p. 40.

² W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, II, 61.

be nominated for each parish by the justices, with the addition of the church wardens and several householders. Their duty was to set children to work whose parents were unable to maintain them, to raise by taxation sums necessary, and to place out poor children as apprentices. The desire to find someone to maintain the child rather than to teach him a trade was the important feature of this act.¹

With this English background in mind, let us now turn to colonial Virginia. It will be found that those elements of society needing poor relief, as well as the agencies devised to support and administer funds for this purpose, were closely related to the conditions in England. As early as 1574 Sir Humphrey Gilbert declared:

We might inhabite some part of those Countreyes (America) and settle there such needy people of our countrey which now trouble the commonwealth and through want here at home are enforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly consumed with the gallows.²

Richard Hakluyt in his *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) declared that many thousand of idle persons in England were without work,

very burdensome to the commonwealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdness, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily stuffed full of them . . . these pety thieves might be condempned for certen yerres in the westerne partes, especially in Newfounde lande, and set to work.³

So Velasco, the Spanish minister to England, wrote in 1611, "Their principal reason for colonizing these parts is to give an outlet to so many idle, wretched people as they have in England, and thus to prevent the dangers that might be feared of them."⁴

Those elements of Virginia society⁵ that made a system of poor relief necessary may be described as follows. The chief dependence for a supply of labor in the seventeenth century was this large body of unemployed in England—the poor, paupers, vagabonds, and con-

¹ 43 Eliz. c. 2, also in Prothero, *Select Documents*, pp. 103-5. See p. 2, n. 4, and H. D. Traill, *Social England*, Vol. IV, chap. xiii, on "Pauperism, 1603-1642."

² The "Discourse" is in the *Publications of the Prince Society* (1903), p. 86.

³ Hakluyt's "Discourse on Western Planting" (1584), *Maine Historical Society Collections*, II, 37.

⁴ Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, I, 456.

⁵ See p. 1, n. 1.

victs, who were transported to Virginia mainly through the agency of the indentured servant system. In the eighteenth century the chief dependence was the Negro slave, though many indentured servants continued to arrive.¹ The children of the servant class and the freed servant, legitimate and illegitimate, were one important element of society calling for poor relief. Besides the presence of these two classes, many of the free whites who had descended from the poorer elements of the white servant class became objects of charity. There were complaints from an early date of "vagrant, idle, and dissolute persons."² Such persons often became the fathers of illegitimate children by both free white and white servant women. If they ran away, as frequently happened, their children were thrown on the parish for support. Such persons also often deserted their wives and children.³

Another class was made up of free Negroes and mulatto servants.⁴ The latter, born of a free white mother or white servant, were indentured as servants and after a long period of service became free Negroes. Of course, there were other unfortunates, such as the defectives, the sick, idiots, etc. All these classes of society called for poor relief. In general, then, Virginia was confronted with a great problem, as in England, namely, how to protect the parish from a large number of paupers, and how to provide work in order to reduce idleness and unemployment on the one hand and on the other to train workers for the needs of a growing colony.

The machinery for administering poor relief was ready at hand—the English parish system, reproduced in Virginia.⁵ The counties were laid off in Virginia in 1634 and in 1641 divided into parishes.⁶

¹ J. C. Ballagh, "White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Series XIII, and "A History of Slavery in Virginia," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, extra Vol. XXIV; J. D. Butler, "British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," in *American Historical Review*, II, 12-34. See also above, p. 1, n. 1.

² Hening, *Statutes of Virginia*, II, 248.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, 208-12.

⁴ J. H. Russell, "The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1895," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Series XXXI.

⁵ S. L. Ware, "The Elizabethan Parish in Its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Series XXVI; P. A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia* I, chaps. vi-ix (Parish, Vestry, Church Wardens).

⁶ Hening, I, 224, 433.

The governing body of the parish was the vestry, a group of twelve men,¹ after 1676 chosen by the freeholders,² whose duty it was to levy and collect parish tithes; appoint clergymen; investigate cases of immorality and disorder; administer the poor laws; and, in general, care for the religious, moral, and charitable affairs of the parish. The executive arm of the vestry was the church wardens, whose duty it was to administer the business of the parish, and present cases needing the attention of the vestry.³

While George Washington was for years a vestryman of Truro Parish, and while as a rule it was expected that the vestrymen should be "the most able and discreet persons of their Parish,"⁴ not all vestrymen measured up to this high standard. The Assembly dissolved the vestry of Suffolk in Nansemond County because of "several unwarrantable practices in the misapplication of divers charitable donations given for the use of the poor of the said parish known by the name of the Lower Parish."⁵

Owing to the organization of new counties and parishes, due to the westward movement of population, and to the division of counties and parishes because of the increase of population, the number of parishes increased throughout the Colonial period. In 1722, there were 29 counties and 54 parishes.⁶ In 1774 there were 62 counties and 95 parishes.⁷

The vestries of these parishes acted under general and special laws governing the care of the poor. Those having to do with the system of apprenticeship were designed to protect the parish from maintaining a large number of poor and illegitimate children; to reduce idleness and unemployment, and to stimulate the development of an artisan class skilled in the trades. In these acts there was also the notion of improving the religious, moral, and educational status of poor children.

¹ *Ibid.*, II, 25.

² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 433.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 275. The vestry of Truro parish was dissolved by act of assembly in 1744 because some of the vestrymen were unqualified; several "pretending to act as vestrymen, are unable to read or write . . . and imposed many hardships on the inhabitants of the parish" (*ibid.*, pp. 274-75).

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII (1759), p. 303.

⁶ F. L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the U.S.*, I, 84-86.

⁷ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, V, 200-3.

A brief sketch of the legislation¹ affecting poor illegitimate, and orphan children will help in understanding the practice. At least eight important acts affecting poor children of various classes were passed between 1646 and 1769. That of 1646² gives as one motive for the act the necessity of avoiding "sloath and idlenesse wherewith such young children are easily corrupted, as also for the reliefe of such parents whose poverty extends not to give them breeding." It provided that justices of the peace should at their discretion bind out children, and for public flax houses to which two children from each county might be sent and taught to spin. Again in 1672³ because of the increase of "vagabonds, idle and dissolute persons," justices of the peace were empowered "to place out *all* children whose parents were not able to bring them up apprentices." Again in 1727,⁴ the act of that year complains of "divers idle and disorderly persons" able to work who "stroll from one county to another, neglecting to labour"; and vagabonds, "run from their habitations and leave either wives or children, without suitable means for their subsistence, whereby they are likely to become burthensome to the parish wherein they inhabit." Children of such parents, because of their "idle, dissolute and disorderly course of life," could be bound out by church wardens on certificate from the county court.

Besides the acts relating to poor children, several were passed affecting illegitimate children.⁵ The number of illegitimate children increased with the increase of indentured servants. As early as 1642-43⁶ laws were passed against fornication between servants and free men and servants. In 1657-58 the father of an illegitimate child was obliged to give security to indemnify the parish against keeping

¹ The legislation is summarized in its educational aspects by the author, in the *School Review*, XXVII (June, 1919), 405-25, and the workings of the laws in *ibid.*, XXVIII (February, 1920), 127-42.

² Henning, I, 336-37. The Act of 1668 also gave power to the county court "to take poore children from indigent parents to worke in those houses" (*ibid.*, II, 267).

³ *Ibid.*, II, 298.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 208-14. This is a comprehensive act defining vagabonds and their treatment; poor and sick persons; the responsibilities of the vestry for the poor, and the method of caring for illegitimate children.

⁵ See Bruce, *Inst. Hist. of Va.*, I, chap. v. ("Public Morals," "Bastardy and Slander"), for the seventeenth century. See also n. 1 *Supra*.

⁶ Henning, I, 253.

the child.¹ If the father were an indentured servant, he could not of course indemnify the parish. So, in 1662,² it was provided that the parish should "take care to keepe the child during the time of the reputed father's service by indenture or custome, and that after he s free the said reputed father shall make satisfaction to the parish." Finally, in 1769,³ because the laws in force were insufficient and because of the "great charges frequently arising from children begotten out of lawful matrimony," the church wardens were instructed to bind out illegitimate children of free single white women. If the illegitimate child were born of a convict⁴ servant woman during the time of her service, the master of such servant was obliged to maintain the child until twenty-one or eighteen years of age, and was entitled to its service.

Still another problem for the parish was the increase of mulatto children. The act of 1691⁵ complained that there was need of preventing "that abominable mixture and spurious issue which hereafter may increase in this dominion as well by negroes, mulattoes, and Indians intermarrying with English, or other white women, as by their unlawful accompanying with one another."⁶

Another problem was the care of orphans. No less than seventeen acts were passed by Virginia relating to this class, most of them having to do with the management of orphans' estates, but some providing for the binding out of poor orphans.⁷

It is of course true that the laws enacted by the assembly represent an ideal rather than actual practice. The administration of poor relief was indeed largely regulated by law, but on the other hand the vestries often acted from custom rather than law. This is clearly shown in the minutes of the vestries, several of which have

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

² *Ibid.*, II, 168.

³ *Ibid.*, VIII, 374.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 377. See p. 5, n. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 86-87.

⁶ Other acts provide penalties for fornication between servants and for the "destroying and murdering of bastard children," *Ibid.*, III (1696), 139; (1710), 510; IV (1727), 213.

⁷ The act of 1756 provided that if orphans had an estate so "meane and inconsiderable that it will not reach to a free education," then he must be bound out as an apprentice (*ibid.*, I, 416). See p. 7, n. 1.

been published.¹ It is from these records that we can learn the actual practice and methods of poor relief in Virginia.

The most important function of the vestries was their duties as financial managers of the parish. Each year, in meeting assembled, they made up their budget² and divided the amount by the total number of tithables in the parish. The tithe was generally paid in kind, usually tobacco, but might in some cases be levied and paid in wheat or maize.³ This method of payment made it necessary to appoint a collector, who worked on a percentage basis. He had power "to make, distress for the same," viz., to compel payment by selling the property in case of a refusal to pay the tithe.

It appears that in the period from 1720 to 1730, the vestry of Bristol Parish levied 370,982 pounds of tobacco, of which 34,415 were for poor relief.⁴ The ratio was thus about 9 per cent. In St. Peter's Parish, for the year 1722, the percentage for poor relief was twenty-two, or nearly one-third of the total levy.⁵ A typical year (1726) in the case of Bristol Parish shows a levy of 66, 789 pounds of tobacco, the number of tithables being 1,236, or 54 pounds per poll. Of this total, 6,124 pounds were for poor relief, and the number aided was eight.⁶

Parishes also received bequests from time to time. Thus in 1674 James Bennett of Nansemond gave the parish two hundred acres of land. The rents were to be received yearly by the church wardens and applied to the relief of poor, aged, and impotent persons forever.⁷ Again, in 1707, a Mrs. Hill bequeathed by will 350 acres for

¹ *The Vestry Book of Saint Peter's Parish, New Kent County, Va., 1682-1758* (Richmond, 1905); C. G. Chamberlayne, *The Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish, Virginia, 1720-89* (Richmond, 1898); L. W. Burton, *Annals of Henrico Parish* contains *Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 1730-1773*, ed. by R. A. Brock; "King William's Vestry Book, 1707-1750," is in *Virginia Magazine of History*, Vols. XI and XII; C. G. Chamberlayne, *The Vestry Book of Christ Church Parish, 1663-1767* (Richmond, 1928).

² See pp. 11-12.

³ "King Williams's Parish V. B.," in *Virginia Magazine of History*, XII, 26, 243; XIII, 179.

⁴ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, pp. 3-45.

⁵ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, pp. 133-34.

⁶ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 30. Compare the budget of the *St. Peter's Parish, 1744*, on pp. 11-12, below.

⁷ See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VII, 222, 236, 255, for bequests to the poor; and Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia*, I, 26-27.

the benefit of the poor of the parish.¹ Besides land, cattle, tobacco, and slaves were left for the support of the poor. Thus Mathew Godfrey of Norfolk County left by will, 1715-16, 1,000 acres and slaves, to be let out each year, the income to be used for the support of the poor of the county, and to be divided equally among three parishes.² In view of both public and private aid for the poor, Beverley's assertion (1722) that the poor of Virginia were well cared for seems fair. He says that some countries gave but just sufficient to preserve the poor from perishing, but in Virginia "the unhappy creature was received into some charitable planter's house where he was at the public charge boarded plentifully."³

The administration of poor relief for children rested largely on the apprenticeship laws, already discussed, and for adults on general laws. A petition⁴ of 1641 complained that "Divers poore men have longe inhabited heere and nowe are growne decrepped and impotent." In 1642-43 a general law⁵ defining the duties of vestries, states that the poor had been of long continuance in the colony, and that many were prevented from laboring because of sickness, lameness, or old age. On complaint to the vestry, such could be certified to the commissioners of the county court as to their poverty and freed from all public charges "except the ministers' and parish duties." Under their general powers, then, the vestries could apprentice poor children, administer bequests for the poor, make levies, and allot aid according to the needs of individual cases. The vestry, however, was under the supervision of the county court, and in case of neglect of duty, could be called to account. It was also of course subject to the general assembly.⁶

Plans for "farming out" all the poor to the lowest bidder were sometimes proposed but seldom carried out in practice. Thus, in 1719, in St. Peter's parish, it was voted that

Whereas, Capt. John Scott has made an offer to take all the Poor People of this Parish: It is ordered That he shall Receive all the poor people which shall

¹ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VII, 254.

² Hening, VII, 418.

³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 88, and Robert Beverley, *History of Virginia*, 1722, p. 223.

⁴ *Virginia Magazine of History* (1901-2), p. 55.

⁵ Hening, I, 242.

⁶ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, V, 219, 221.

be sent him by the Church Wardens. And to provide for them all such necessities as Shall be Convenient (Except Apparrell) As the Church Wardens and he can agree.¹

This plan, however, was not carried out, nor were similar votes of Bristol parish "That the Church wardens at the most Convenient place put up the Poor of this Parish to the lowest Bidder."² An elaborate plan for a poorhouse, to be supported by three parishes, Bristol, Martin's Brandon, and Bath was also proposed but this likewise failed to mature.³

The common method of administering poor relief was to have the poor cared for in different homes, by paying a sum agreed upon for each person. This involved either total support for those entirely disabled, or partial support for persons needing temporary relief, or for those not wholly without resources. This called for a grant of a specific sum for the time kept for service rendered. Thus the persons receiving aid and the kind of aid given were extremely varied. A typical budget⁴ made up by the vestry of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, for the year 1744, reads as follows:

At a Vestry held for St. Peter's Parish September the 29th, 1744.

Present:

The Rev'd David Mossom, Min'r; Maj'r John Dandridge, Capt. Rich'd Littlepage, Capt. Wm. Massie, Mr. Walter Clopton, Mr. Thomas Butts, Mr. Chas. Massie, Coll. Dan'll Parke Custis, Maj'r Jos. Foster, Mr. Ambrose Dudley, Vestrymen; Coll. Wm. Macon, Mr. Jos. Marston, Church Wardens.

St. Peter's Parish, Dr.

To the Rev'd Mr. Mossom his Salary to September the 29th.....	16000
To Cask to Do. a 4 P. ct.....	640
To the Rev'd Mr. Mossom for the Deficiency of Glebe.....	1600
To Cask to Do. a 4 P. ct.....	64
To James Holmes his Salary to September the 29th.....	1800
To Stephen Broker, Sexton, his Salary.....	630
To Sarah Broker for washing the Surplice these 2 years.....	100
To James Ashcroft for keeping his Father.....	600
To Hugh Grindley for keeping Charles Goodwin.....	450
To David Patteson for keeping Mary Hazard.....	800

¹ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, pp. 125-26.

² *Bristol Parish V. B.* (1757), p. 168; (1762), p. 182.

³ *Ibid.* (1757), pp. 165-66.

⁴ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, pp. 194-96.

To Israel Asutin for keeping his Brother	250
To John Phillips for his Support	600
To Cornelius Matthews for the Support of his Mother	500
To Samuel Bailey for keeping Mary Major	450
To Henry Strange for keeping Marg't Grumbal	700
To Phillis Moon for keeping her Son	967
To George Heath for keeping John Vincent, an orphan child	600
To Sarah Broker for keeping Christ'r Bendall in his Sickness	300
To Maj. John Dandridge his acco't	380
To Mr. Ben. Waller for a copy of the List of Tithables	18
To Capt. Wm. Massie his L3, 3, 10, in Tobo. at 10 P. ct.	638
To Rich'd Crump, Sen'r, his Acco't, L4, 2s., 0, in Tobo. at Do.	419
To Coll. Macon his acco't, L8, 17, 4, in Tobo. at Do.	1744
	<hr/>
	30280
To George Taylor for keeping Catherine Taylor in Child bed	400
To Hannah Morgan for keeping Marg't Foster 4 weeks	400
To Sarah Broker as part of her Fee for Bring Cath. Taylor to Bed	30
	<hr/>
	31110
Ord'd that the Sume of 12750 lb. of Tobo. be Levyed for the use of the Parish	12756
	<hr/>
	43866
To the Coll'n at 6 P. Ct.	2632
	<hr/>
	46498
To a Rem'r due from the Coll'r	54
	<hr/>
	46552
	<hr/>
Per Contra,	Cr.
By 1058 Tithables at 44 lb. Tobo. Pr. Poll.	46552

It will be noted that out of a total levy of 46,552 pounds of tobacco no less than 7,040 pounds were for poor relief, involving thirteen different persons; also that a father, brother, mother, and son were "kept" by immediate relatives; also that aid was granted for the care of an orphan, for women "in child bed," and for poor persons in general.

The problem of total support may be illustrated by the following cases:

Upon the petition of James Turner Setting forth that he has been visited with Lameness and sickness severall years in So much that he hath spent all his substance upon Phesitians and nescicaries, therefore, ordered that Samuell

Waddy keep the same James Turner during Life and to find him sufficient Clothing, meate, drink, washing and Lodging, and all nessicaries, and to be paid twelve hundred pounds of Tobacco and Cask p annum. and soe proportionable for a longer or a shorter time the said Wadde assuring to this vestry to keep the said Turner for the Sume of 1200 lbs. of Tobacco, and bring noe Claime against the parish for the same.¹

This is a case where the vestry burdened itself with the maintenance of one person for his whole life, at a fixed sum per year, with no further claim against the parish.

A widow, Elizabeth Faulkner, was a source of great expense to St. Peter's parish for a number of years, 1690-1710. Let us follow the history of the Widow Faulkner. First, in May 1690, five hundred pounds of tobacco were granted toward her maintenance for one year.² In November, Lyonell Morriss agreed "to find her sufficient accomodations" at the rate of one thousand pounds of tobacco a year.³ In 1696 Thomas Minns was paid 1,040 pounds of tobacco for "keeping" the widow Faulkner one year and "providing her a pr. of shoes."⁴ The next year he was paid 1,080 pounds for keeping her and 30 pounds for another pair of shoes.⁵ Two hundred and ninety-two pounds were also paid Mr. Wyatt for her "Cloathes."⁶

This same amount, 1,080 pounds, was paid for the next few years, 1699-1706.⁷ On May 8, 1707, however, Mr. Minns made a complaint. Perhaps the widow was either eating too much, or the cost of living was rising. The record reads "Whereas Tho. Minns complains that his allowance for keeping Wid. Faulkner is too little, the vestry have ordered it increased for ye future 1100 lbs. tobo. . . . if she lives."⁸ The Widow Faulkner was thus supported by the parish, in three different houses, for twenty years, at a cost of 20,619 pounds of tobacco.

In general the old, impotent, and lame were charges on the parish, as well as those who were temporarily or permanently disabled by sickness or other causes.⁹ The dreaded modern scourge of cancer is reported in 1728.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 56, 60, 66, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁹ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, pp. 5, 10, 17; *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 69.

Robt. Glidewell Being afflicted With a Cancur in his face which hath made him unable to labour for his livelihood it is ord'ed that the Church Warthen find him necessary Cloathin and likewise that John Browder find him necessary board and he to be allow'd one hundred pounds of tobo pr. month.¹

These cases illustrate the method of total support. Persons not wholly without resources also received either permanent or temporary aid. Take the case of Anthony Burrass, "stricken blind," November, 1696.

Whereas Anthony Burrass of this parish is stricken blind & his wife is very ancient by what means they are incapable of getting their living & that ye s'd Anthony addressing himself to this vestry for a maintenance.

It is therefore ordered yt ye Church wardens forthwith cause ye s'd Anthony Burros to convey over unto them for ye use of this parish forever his plantation, Cattle, horses & hoggs & yt there be allowed to each of them five hundred pounds of Tob. & Casq's for their maintenance during their or either of their natural lives or till he may be recovered of his eye sight.²

Later he accepted 1,600 pounds of tobacco yearly for the maintenance of himself and his wife, and this agreement was carried out for some years.³

The parish helped the able-bodied poor by enabling them to help themselves. Robert Magrime could work, but apparently was in danger of becoming a parish charge. So

Mr. Gideon Macon offering to this vestry to take the said Magrime and keep him as long as he can work and pay levys and keep him from being a parish charge During his natural life, therefore ordered that the Sheriff sumon the said Magrime to appear at the next Court to answer what the Court shall therein order.⁴

Another type of poor relief was the provision for the partial support of, or aid to, the poor for a limited period, viz., occasional temporary relief. Margaret Butler, having petitioned that she "being disabled by Sickness is not Able to help herself," the vestry ordered that she live with Richard Butler "untill the vestry can Agree with A Doctor to cure her if possible he can." Mr. Butler was allowed

¹ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 38.

² *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 41. In Henrico Parish, 1737, among others aid was given for two "impotent" persons, one old woman, one blind woman, and one "Ideot" (*Henrico Parish V. B.*, p. 42).

³ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.* (1698), p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

eight pounds of tobacco a month for the time she lived with him, he "to find her diet, lodging and washing for the time."¹ The vestry also agreed with "Doct^r Thompson for the Cure of Jacob Butler and to Bring in their accm't at the laying of the nex parrish leavy."²

In case of accident relief was often given. Thus "Peter plantin being Much Burnt by accidnt and he being poor and aged Not Able to pay for his Cure Mary hall is ord'ed to take Care of the Sd plantine and to Do her Endeavour to Cure him and she to bring in her acm't at the laying the Next parrish leavy."³ The practice of making a contract with a doctor to cure the sick was very common. Thus "Ordered that ye Church wardens Agree with Some Doctor to Cure Mary Wilde of her Ailement, & if she think herself able to undergo a Course of Phisic, The Church wardens are to agree w'th ye Doctor for ye same."⁴ Parishes might even provide for the expense of taking a person to a health resort. Thus "Ordered that the Church Wardens Agree with some Person on the best terms they can to carry Rich^d Sentale to the Spring on New River for the Recovery of his health."⁵ Another type of aid occurred when the church wardens were "impowered to give Thomas Ashcraft Credit in a Store for forty Shillings towards finding him in Cloathes for the ensuing year."⁶ Still another method of aiding the poor was the distribution of fines. Thus the church wardens were ordered to distribute fines in their hands "among the Poor of the Parish."⁷

Another form of temporary aid was that of freeing persons from parish dues. Persons unable to pay might secure relief by petitioning the county court or they could apply directly to the vestry for relief.⁸ Thus "Tho. Andrews being Anciant & Crasey & not Able to Work is Acquitted from paying P'ish Levies."⁹ "Rob^t Glascock

¹ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, pp. 25-26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.* (1728), p. 37. So also "To Mary Harding for curing Mary Burnet of a Burn," *Henrico Parish V. B.*, p. 8.

⁴ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 108. See also *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* (1744), p. 116. The Vestry of King William's Parish paid 150 pounds of tobacco "for burying a poor man," *Virginia Magazine of History* XIII, 269.

⁶ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.* (1739), p. 181.

⁷ *Ibid.* (1744), p. 194.

⁸ Hening, I (Act of 1642-3), p. 242; III (1700), p. 201.

⁹ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 1. See also *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 148.

being upwards of 60 years old & lame is Acquitted from paying P^rish Levies."¹ "Upon the petition of Phillis Moore for to gett her Son John Moore levy free, Setting forth in her petition that her S^d Son is troubled with Convulsion fitts & much burnt, It is ordered that the Said Jno. Moore be exempted from paying of parish Levy During his Infirmary."²

Generally speaking charity seems to have been given with some regard for the feelings of the recipient. In Bristol Parish, however, the church wardens ordered the pews numbered, and after four had been reserved "for the use of the Poor," ordered that they "lett the Same, to the highest Bidders."³

The binding out of poor, illegitimate, and orphan children, as provided for by law, was one of the important duties of the vestry, and their minutes contain numerous examples of the practice. Thus at one meeting of the vestry of Bristol parish, it was ordered that eight poor children, five from one family, should be bound out to various persons.⁴ A specific case is that of "Agnes Tudora, poor Infirm Girl, being put upon this parish for a Charge and Rich'd & Sarah Brookes being willing to take the said Girl, Ordered that ye Church wardens bind the Said Agnes Tudor to the Said Rich'd & Sarah Brookes for Seven Years."⁵

The vestry was broadly speaking the moral sponsor for the parish. Accordingly the vestry books abound with records of illegitimate children whose maintenance might result in added burdens to the parish, and the prosecution of which cases was entrusted to the vestry. There are orders to support or bind out all types of illegitimate children, white and mulatto, born of free white women, and white servant women.⁶ Thus "It is ordered that a thousand pounds of tobacco and cask be paid unto Mary Wilkinson for nursing a

¹ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 2.

² *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, pp. 157-58.

³ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. See *William and Mary College Quarterly*, V, 219-23, for binding out of poor children and orphans, and see above, p. 7, n. 1.

⁵ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 151.

⁶ For the seventeenth century see, Bruce, *Inst. Hist. of Va.*, Vol. I, chap. v, "Public Morals: Bastardy and Slander." At one meeting of Henrico Vestry, grants were made for the support of three bastard children (*Henrico Parish V. B.* [Oct. 13, 1732], 11). See p. 7, n. 1.

bastard child belonging to a servant woman of Capt. Joseph Forster this ensuing year."¹ The process of binding out such a child is illustrated by the following entry:

Margaret Micabin serv't to Mr. David Crawley having a bastard Child Mr. Crawley prays the Gen^lmen of this Vestry to bind out the s'd Child as they think fitt. It is ord^d by the Vestry that the Church-Wardens bind out the s'd Child named John Sadler born the 26th July last 1720. The fores'd Child is by indenture bound unto Mr. David Crawley to serve according to Law.²

There was a great increase of illegitimate mulatto children in the eighteenth century, born of free white women or white servant women. In either case the child was not a slave, but according to law must be bound out to service till of age. Thus in October, 1724, "Hen. Royall petitioneth that he hath two Moll. children born in his house by Name Wm. and hannah may be bound to him & his heirs according to Law his pett. is granted."³ At the meeting of June 28, 1725, three petitions were received to have two mulatto girls and one boy, born probably of white servant women, in three different houses, bound to the masters and mistresses of the servants.⁴

Orphan children also were bound out to relieve the parish of keeping them. The number of orphans is surprising. In Spottsylvania County, will book "B" contains a list of forty-five guardians bonds between 1749 and 1761, involving seventy children.⁵

The system of poor relief became more and more unsatisfactory in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Changes in Virginia

¹ *St. Peter's Parish V. B.*, p. 8.

² *Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 2. An unusual case was "Mary Burnet's bastard child, she being an Idiot, and upon ye Parish" (*Henrico Parish V. B.* [1748], p. 83). At the same meeting aid was given "To John Jones, for keeping his Daughter, being a Fool" (*ibid.*).

³ *Bristol Parish V. B.*, pp. 18-19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 24. The following entries seem to indicate that the parish gave aid to mulatto and negro servants, or possibly free negroes: "To Robert Cooke for the care of Susannah a Mulatto 400" (pounds of tobacco); and "To Ryland Randolph, churchwarden, for smallpox negro, £2, 17, 0" (*Henrico Parish V. B.* [1758], p. 109; [1763]). p. 123.

⁵ W. A. Crozier (ed.), *Virginia County Records*, I, 72-76. "Mr. Tho. Bott having an orphan boy bound to him by his mother desires the same may be confirmed by this Vestry" (*Bristol Parish V. B.*, p. 2). See p. 7, n. 1.

society, the inefficiency of the Anglican Church, the westward movement of population, the formation of large back country parishes, and the delay in the formation of parishes were some of the new factors. One complaint was made that because of the want of a vestry in Botentourt Parish, the poor were likely to suffer "for want of proper support and maintenance."¹ From 1780 to 1785, the assembly by a series of acts dissolved the vestries and provided for overseers of the poor in each county. The preamble of the act of 1780 reads, "Whereas great inconveniences have arisen from the mode prescribed for making provisions for the poor" in seven western counties named, the vestries of such were dissolved, and the sheriffs were ordered to elect five freeholders as "Overseers of the Poor," with the powers and duties of vestries and church wardens.² In 1782, another act dissolved the vestries of five more western counties, because the former act "hath greatly removed the inconveniences for making provision for the poor."³ Finally, in 1785, a general act was passed to provide for the poor in all the counties of the state, by appointment of overseers of the poor who also were given the same powers over bastards and vagrants, formerly exercised by the vestries.⁴ Thus the care of the poor passed out of the control of the Anglican Church to that of the counties. This was one of the consequences of the American Revolution and the separation of church and state in Virginia.

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¹ Hening, IX, 527.

² *Ibid.*, X, 288.

³ *Ibid.*, XI, 62.

Ibid., XII, 27-29

THE VERBAL BATTLE OF THE RACES¹

ALL science is difficult. Even if a scientist is trying to discover the cause of cancer in mice or to determine the sequence of strata in an archeological mound, it is recognized that constant care is necessary lest preconceptions distort the mind and lead to error. Bacon warned us that the seeker after truth should always question his first formulation and thus guard at least against the idols of the cave. And this holds when the subject under discussion involves no sentimental interest. As Dean Marshall used to say when his students were a bit slow: "The human mind at its best barely works."

This being true of every sort of inquiry, it is not strange that when one comes to consider the subject of the races of men and their characteristics, seeing that the writer always belongs to one of them, all the difficulties are found in an exaggerated degree. There are, indeed, treatments of race that are undertaken with little or no bias, but they are few and old. Modern discussions of race seem inevitably controversial. The post-war psychology did not leave any area unaffected. Varying in the detailed programs, there is everywhere to

¹ *Anthropology and Modern Life*. By Franz Boas, Ph.D., Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1928. Pp. 246. \$3.00.

Racial Origins of English Character. By R. N. Bradley. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1926. Pp. 192.

The Racial Elements of European History. By Hans F. K. Gunther. Translated from the Second German Edition by G. C. Wheeler. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1928. Pp. 279. \$4.60.

The Racial Basis of Civilization, A Critique of the Nordic Doctrine. By Frank H. Hankins, Professor of Sociology in Smith College. New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. Pp. 384. \$3.75.

Race Contact. By Earl Edward Muntz, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Economics, New York University. New York and London: The Century Co., 1927. Pp. xiv+407. \$3.75.

Re-forging America. The Story of Our Nationhood. By Lothrop Stoddard, Ph.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons Co., 1927. Pp. viii+389. \$3.00.

Environment and Race; A Study of the Evolution, Migration, Settlement and Status of the Races of Men. By Griffith Taylor, D.Sc., F.R.G.S. Head of the Department of Geography in the University of Sydney. London: Oxford University Press, 1927. Pp. xiv+354. \$6.50.

be witnessed the same extreme emphasis on the glorious past and the assertion of a commanding position in the future. In Ireland it led to the pathetic attempt to resurrect a dead language, in Norway it resulted in the attempt to manufacture a new tongue. In China, in the little Balkan states, in Italy, in Anatolia, in fact everywhere, can be witnessed the common occurrence of an exaggerated ethnocentrism. And in America one effect has been a succession of books and articles on the Nordic race that are as devoid of scientific objectivity as the propaganda of the Ku Klux Klan. One of the well-known company of popular writers is Dr. Stoddard, the latest of whose books lies before me as I write: *Re-forging America*. It is fitting that this review should begin with Stoddard, for most of the recent books on race are either the product of his school or attempts to answer and counteract its influence. Thus the whole of current literature is controversial. Everything is either attack or defense. We have our treasure in earthen vessels.

In Professor Hankins' *Racial Basis of Civilization*, there is a discussion of an earlier work of Stoddard's, concerning which it is said:

This work contains, like all its ilk, an unholy alliance of fact, fancy, and downright error. It is by all odds Stoddard's worst. The imagination hesitates to picture what his next will be if his monomaniacal attachment to his race mysticism rises to further heights.

And it must be confessed that, if possible, this last one is still worse than the others. It is a strident and despairing shriek, unrelieved by a single calm passage, and totally devoid of any sense of proportion. It is the same theme to which we have so often listened: The American race, the flower of European civilization, and therefore the choicest stock that ever appeared on the planet, began their history with the prospect of becoming the greatest of the nations. Only the racially fit came to America, or at least the few unfit were quickly weeded out. This great and mighty race is, however, now in great danger of losing its place, and, in order to preserve the beauties and excellences of our superiority, we must not only keep out the aliens but must segregate the Negro and be prepared to make war on the recently arrived immigrants. The author admits that this seems a little severe, but it seems to him better that we give up our Christian civilization rather than submit to the will of the majority unless we

ourselves constitute that majority. The superior Nordic is confronted with his old dilemma: in order to preserve the graces of civilization we should plan to revert to barbarism. One wonders what would be the gain to civilization if such a fantastic bloodthirstiness should really issue in action.

If Dr. Alfred Adler of Vienna should seek for a literary illustration of his well-known "inferiority complex," it would be difficult to light upon a more perfect example than the attitudes revealed in this book. Over and over, with rhetorical flourishes and cheap bids to prejudice, Mr. Stoddard insists that he is superior to other people, that he came from a superior race, that his is the choicest of stocks, that he is superior to any groups in America who do not agree with him, and that, in spite of any nonsense about democracy, he is going to remain superior even if he has to commit wholesale murder. The United States Postal authorities have not confiscated the book nor arrested the author, but men have been haled into court for less inflammatory utterances. Indeed, in places, the fury of the author quite carries him away. He becomes almost maniacal in his impotent rage. "Any immigrant group or combination of groups that meddles with America's reforging *is going to get hurt!* Let there be no mistake about it" (p. 222). "Let those who seek to thwart us beware: it is they who will be the losers" (p. 224). "If loyal America ever makes up its mind that the national life is really threatened by a combination of, disaffected, seditious elements, it will strike and strike hard" (p. 358). "Then is the answer war? No. But why not?" And he goes on to say that it is only because the immigrants are too few in number to try an appeal to arms.

Let Americans "on outpost" remember the vast reservoirs of loyal America—the strong men of the Middle West; the eagle-faced men of the Sierras; the quiet, watchful-eyed men of the South. There they are, in their millions and tens of millions, going about their business and serenely confident of the future. Yet those millions are one in love and devotion to their America, and, if a crisis "on the outposts" ever arose, they would march and settle the matter with the thoroughness which Americans always display when a really big job has to be done.

It is obvious that Stoddard is "seeing things." The picture of ten million strong men from the Middle West marching to Boston to protect the poor little man from the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti

is a bit hard to make real. Some of us would have gone to New England to urge the Nordics to revise the case against the Italians had we thought it would be worth while. But this book seems to be mainly a case of nerves. Is it paranoia that chiefly affects us Nordics? And do delusions of persecution usually accompany delusions of grandeur?

Let us turn for relief to another book very much alike in one respect, but very different otherwise: Bradley's *Racial Origins of English Character*. The small volume belongs to the type that is always delightful reading, however ephemeral or fallacious. The writer is a traveled, cultivated Englishman who occupies his leisure with writing readable books, none too accurate. His conception of race is like that of Stoddard, that is, each race has certain definite characteristics, and these are appealed to, to help in the analysis of English character. His method may be surmised by a quotation. After describing the Philistines he adds, "It *would not surprise me* if they turned out to be the forefathers of the Nordic race." Or (p. 28), "*we seem to find* some foundation for the mythical figures of Japheth and Shem" (in the chimpanzee and orang-outang). For Bradley, the Nordic is only one of four racial stocks in the English character. Nor does he think they are so precious or essential.

This ignorant prejudice is typical . . . it is perhaps a matter for congratulation that the Great Race is in some measure passing. For the Nordic loves neither brains nor intellectualism. Clever talk either frightens or bores him, and his public-school education certainly does not cause hypertrophy of the brain lobes.

Bradley calls the Quakers Alpine. Here is a gem:

The Quakers make cocoa, biscuits, and many other wholesome things because they are descended from those old lake-dwelling communities (in Switzerland) who found themselves isolated among their enemies and were obliged to develop the social and therefore moral life for self-protection.

This is *really* to be found on page 51. The author has never read the life of George Fox. But the most informing contribution to the theory of race is on page 119: "The purely Nordic women are probably rare, for in the nature of things they could never have been very numerous. . . . The Nordics were a male race." By this is not meant that the women were masculine. It means that there were

very few of them. The argument is not different from that of the other race-boosters. Nordicism means certain mental and social characteristics; women seldom have these characteristics; therefore, women are seldom Nordics. But Bradley's book is charming, and one longs for a chance to meet the genial, contented, tolerant dilettante who wrote it. No disagreement with his conclusions would displease him, for he would regard anything I have written as inevitably the product of my race.

Quite different in character is Gunther's *Racial Elements of European History*, which is a translation from the second German edition. It need not detain us long in this survey of current literature, for it is adequately characterized as being an uncritical and enthusiastic continuation of the tradition of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Grant, and Stoddard. It is the familiar story, that of the five races in Europe, the noblest is the Nordic. There is documentation and illustration, but a certain *naïveté* in stating deductions from data. A few quotations will give a fair hint of the method. "The British Isles *seem to be* nowhere so fair as northwest Germany"; the inhabitants of Cornwall "are *said often to show* features calling to mind a Semitic type of face"; "a distribution *may perhaps be made* as follows"; "the Nordic race being, *it would seem*, almost wholly confined to the upper classes"; "in Wales only the old land-owning families *are said to have* a Nordic look"; "*We may adopt* the following proportions for these islands"; "the inhabitants of South Brittany *have been compared* with the Mongols"; "The southwest coast of France *would seem to be* predominantly Mediterranean"; "*There does not seem to be* any Alpine blood in Portugal"; in the case of the Lapps "*what suggests itself* is a group of Asiatic origin," and so on and on. The italics are mine, but the carelessness is his.

The Nordic tribes are traced back in prehistory and are responsible for the great men of every country in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The only Nordic whom one cannot wholly admire is Goliath, but he can take comfort in being killed by the Nordic David. The Nordics are responsible for the ruling class of the Chinese, though the proof is stated in the familiar "it has been suggested." The Nordics are also responsible for whatever virtues the Armenians have, stated in the phrase, "seem to have become." The greatness of India was

destroyed by the non-Nordic Buddha, who broke with the old traditions, but we should not continue. Persia, Greece, Rome, Germany, France, England, America, Portugal, and Spain, all owe whatever greatness they had to the Nordic element of the population, and have declined or will decline when this element disappears.

The Nordic, being a great fighter and brave man, goes to war readily and gets killed very frequently. He seems to enjoy especially killing other Nordics, so that all the great disastrous wars are civil wars. The remedy is to breed more blonds and thus prevent the impending disaster of the passing of the noble but quarrelsome race. But to preserve such implacable fighters would be but to insure more suicidal wars, and so on indefinitely.

It would be necessary to go more fully into Gunther's swan song if I were not reviewing at the same time Hankins' *Racial Basis of Civilization*, where appears the most thoroughgoing and careful controversial critique of the Nordic doctrine. Aryanism, Gobinism, Teutonism, Celticism and Gallicism, Anglo-Saxonism and Nordicism, each receive a chapter, and constitute Part I of the book, that is, two-thirds of the volume. All these doctrines or "isms" are accurately stated and, since they all assume a common fallacy, are opposed, and, in my opinion, adequately refuted. The second part of Professor Hankins' work is a discussion of the concept of race, which is very carefully formulated. The variability and overlapping which appears in any statistical study of race, whatever trait may be selected for measurement, forces the conclusion that race is an abstract concept and must be thought of in terms of a statistical mean or mode, with wide divergencies and much overlapping. In the matter of stature, for example, his table shows that while the Americans are some five inches taller than the Japanese, yet there are Japanese as tall as sixty-nine inches and Americans as short as sixty-one, and therefore many Japanese are taller than many Americans. It is of course brought out that modern races are complex, we are really all mongrels, but an isolated group will produce a type which can be spoken of in statistical terms with some degree of accuracy.

Hankins discusses racial equality and concludes that statistical evidence can be had for the inequality of races on any trait that can be selected for study, but the conclusions above cited concern-

ing overlapping must be kept in mind in dealing with individuals or policies.

Concerning race mixture there is also a discussion which tends to favor the crossing of races, even dissimilar ones. There seems to be, according to Hankins, a beneficial effect when races meet and cross, "an amalgamation of stocks gives impetus to an economic and political evolution which leads to the rise of a nation." He does regard, however, the question of improving the stock as one of importance.

This is not a question of preserving the Anglo-Saxon stock. Much of that stock is utterly worthless and should be sterilized at the earliest possible date. Nor is it a question of drawing racial lines and cultivating a sense of racial caste. . . . It is solely a question of encouraging or maintaining the multiplication of the more able, regardless of race, and of discouraging the multiplication of the less able.

Hankins' discussion is occupied chiefly with the biological facts of race and does not concern itself with the important sociological aspects of the question, except indirectly.

To open the book of Griffith Taylor on *Environment and Race* is to pass into another climate, for Professor Taylor is a geographer with a new and interesting theory, and a genius for making interesting and graphic illustrations. I am most grateful to him for his generalized maps, especially his "block maps," though the theory of the changing climates, and particularly the theory of racial scattering or thrusting, has yet to be tested and checked up. The latter notion is easily stated. The people who are farthest away from the center are always the weaker, and at least in a military sense inferior. Those who emigrate are pushed out by the stronger or more powerful who do not wish to move. This general notion is developed at great length and with a wealth of detail, and is destined to receive its due share of attention. It is not wholly convincing to a layman in geography, but it is challenging and could only be called in question by an expert who either has done comparable researches or is familiar with others who have done them.

Professor Taylor's position on race is quite different from those of Stoddard and Gunther. He cannot agree that the racial inferiorities have been accurately stated. The Orientals at least are equal to

the whites, though the Negroes are regarded by him as inferior. Yet even here the problem does not seem appalling. He expects the Negro to disappear ultimately as a result of increased crossing with whites. Apart from the Negroes he can see no reason for saying that one race in any important aspect is better than another. "Chinese, Japanese, British, Indian, Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean have all made good in suitable environments." As a geographer he is very partial to the natural environment as the most potent factor in molding every race and nation.

The ideal toward which the most enlightened statesmen are working is surely a world at peace. The chief obstacles in the way are race prejudice and national jealousy. The former in most cases is but another name for ethnological ignorance. The latter will tend to diminish as each nation realizes the place in the world's order of precedence for which its racial, moral, and economic status equips it.

The position of Professor Taylor is of most interest, of course, to the Australians, whose policy of racial exclusion he regards as untenable, and whose semi-arid climate he considers incapable of sustaining a very large population. The real-estate boosters in Australia will hardly subsidize or circulate this book.

Professor Boas has long been known as an influential writer on race. It is customary to speak of the Boas school, owing to the influence of his volume on *The Mind of Primitive Man*. The present work, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, is a brief and readable volume, which contains an interesting recommendation of anthropology and various suggestions of the contribution of that science to problems of race, eugenics, crime, and education. The book is written with a minimum of documentation, a few pages of references being appended. It is rather the matured opinions of a ripe scholar on questions of current interest, and of current controversy. The opening chapter defines anthropology in terms which every sociologist would accept as a definition of sociology. It may be that the two disciplines are more nearly identical than is popularly supposed. In discussing the problem of race the abstract character of the concept is clearly set forth, and the variability within the group is given needed emphasis. "What we call nowadays a race of men consists of groups of individuals in which descent from common ancestors cannot be proved." In the discussion of the interrelation of races it is shown that culture

and social experience determine what takes place. There is a picture of primitive society which follows the conventional tradition, but which Boas would be first to admit is wholly inferential. For it is by no means certain that primitive men were always and ever hostile to other groups. There is much evidence for the notion that strife came later.

Boas' discussion of nationalism again brings out the importance of culture and tradition and shows the untenable nature of biological theories discussed earlier in this review. The subject of eugenics claims a chapter and the main note is a word of warning. We might try to suppress those defective classes whose deficiencies can be proved by rigid methods to be due to hereditary causes, but to attempt to abolish all suffering would be to make matters much worse. It would indeed destroy society. "Eugenics is not a panacea that will cure human ills; it is rather a dangerous sword that may turn its edge against those who rely on its strength."

In the discussion of education and the relation of modern civilization to primitive culture, the author attempts a statement of modern social causation which should provide for gradual change in the mores without undue limitation of individual freedom.

Professor Muntz' *Race Contact* does not belong so clearly in this series, and yet there are corollaries which make it appropriate to include it in this list. It is a very carefully written book, heavily documented, and the result of much labor and clear thinking. It is a very depressing story which is here told. There are three parts, devoted respectively to the Americas, Australia and Polynesia, and Africa. It is a record of the triumph of the strong over the weak; of injustice, slavery, forced labor; of the despoiling of the lands of the natives; and of the depopulation of areas on which the idealistic Nordics and other superior peoples wished to settle. The book is important and deserves more space than is here available. The author does not sentimentalize over the natives; in fact his sympathies are often against them. He does not blame the whites for all that happened in the Indian wars, and he emphasizes the obvious truth that civilized men are not going to be content to allow the uncivilized to occupy any region which the whites have come to covet. This may be regrettable but, being a fact, it must be faced. He regards the missionaries as having done something to mitigate the terrific

shock, and concludes that toleration is the keynote to successful relations with the backward races. He gives little evidence that would lead one to expect any early achievement of this ideal. The book is not very pleasant reading, but it is very necessary reading for anyone who would understand the shameful story of the contact of the higher races with the lower. For the benefit of the proofreader (for it is hoped that there will be more than one edition) "copal" is written "copra" twice on page 345.

If we attempt to set forth the status of the problem of race, it would seem necessary to formulate it somewhat as follows: All existing groups are the result of millenniums of crossing with many different stocks. There are no pure races. Strictly speaking, we are all mongrels. Any attempt to define any one of the races must be a statistical endeavor, with a central tendency and a more or less wide divergence on both extremes. Not all Nordics are tall, nor are they all blond. There is no one physical trait which characterizes any of the races. This does not mean that we cannot speak of race, for we can and do, but it does mean that there are such wide physical divergencies in any given race that the uncritical statements of popularizers would be rejected by careful scientists.

But far more important than this is the question of the mental and temperamental aspects of race, and here there are no scientific facts. In the seven books under review practically every statement can be contradicted by some other statement in one of the other books, and none of them can be demonstrated. Moreover, it is in just this uncritical assumption of stable racial characteristics that the whole strength of the argument lies. Temperamental traits and character traits really depend upon experience, social, political, and economic. In recent years both Denmark and Sweden have seriously considered disbanding their armies, and yet they are the descendants of the vikings, to whom the thought of battle was more delightful than the love of women. It is possible to read elaborate characterizations of American Negroes, but no one who has ever lived among the natives of Africa will recognize these characters. The native Africans are independent, dignified, contemptuously tolerant of white people, and have none of the plaintive folk-music which the slaves in America have made a part of our heritage. It must be reiterated that assertions about the temperamental and character

traits of the various races have only a literary value and are devoid of any scientific foundation whatsoever.

The frantic and rhetorical concern about the national unity fails to reckon with the effect of culture and the plasticity of human children. Indeed, nothing could be more disastrous for the national unity than such deliverances as those of Stoddard, Grant, and their little brotherhood. Every sociologist knows that intolerance and ill-natured opposition produces resistance and revolt. Already these well-meaning men have seriously injured the very cause that they hoped to promote. One reason why we have in America such a large measure of national unity is that until recent years there have been no Stoddards. The Germans tried to force the Poles into a single mould, and the result is that now the Germans have to be locked into their railway carriages when they cross the Danzig corridor. If we had been trying to force the aliens to drop their languages and their customs, they would long before this have been clinging on to them with highly emotional enthusiasm. But under the conditions which have prevailed hitherto the second generation of Norwegians or Swedes or Germans have gradually forced their very churches to conduct the services and sermons in English.

It is in our language, and above all in our public schools, that the great force for unity lies. The free communication and high mobility of our people will continue to keep us together. Indeed, what of alienism still persists has little to do with the local conditions. It is the result of the European conflicts. The Irish group in America is to be explained not by events in America at all, but by the struggle in Ireland itself.

If assimilation ever occurs anywhere, then surely America is a melting-pot. Whether we will or no, others will come to us. We shall greatly modify them, for they shall speak our tongue because they wish to. We shall teach their children because we want to and because it is best for them. We shall modify them more than they will change us, but they will surely make some contribution to our life. It is to be fondly hoped that not even all the Stoddards will be able to destroy the fine tolerance, humanity, and sympathy without which American culture would be infinitely less deserving of preservation.

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF FOSTER CHILDREN

THE purpose of this study¹ was twofold. Its practical purpose was to determine whether residence in a foster home appears to be of benefit to the children so far as their intellectual advancement is concerned. A more theoretical purpose was to determine whether the environment is a factor in intelligence or whether intelligence is determined entirely by the individual's in-born capacity. The bearing of the results upon the practical purpose will be obvious, so that they will be presented chiefly from the theoretical point of view.

The investigation of the relative effect of inborn capacity and of the environment upon mental traits meets with serious difficulties. The major difficulty is that variations in environment and variations in capacity are commonly associated. That is, a child in a good environment is likely to have parents with superior ability. This makes it difficult to know whether to attribute the individual's achievement to the one or the other factor.

In the case of foster children the environment has been altered. It may be possible, then, by statistical manipulation to determine whether this alteration has had an effect upon the children's intellectual ability. Accordingly a study was made of 401 foster children.

A series of personal interviews was had with each child by the field worker of the study, Mrs. Blythe C. Mitchell. At these interviews the child was given the Stanford Revision of the Binet Scale and the International Test devised by Stuart C. Dodd. Interviews were also had with one or both of the foster parents. In many cases the foster parents consented to take the Otis self-administering test and a vocabulary test. On a specially prepared home rating blank,

¹ Frank N. Freeman, Karl J. Holzinger, and Blythe Clayton Mitchell, assisted by Helen R. Bobo and Clara H. Lorenzen, "The Influence of Environment on the Intelligence, School Achievement, and Conduct of Foster Children," *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Co., 1928), Part I, chap. ix.

modified from the Whittier Home Rating Scale, a rating of the foster home was made. Information was also collected concerning the child's behavior and his success in school.

The study was carried on with the hearty co-operation of the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, which is under the direction of Mr. C. V. Williams. Only through this co-operation was the study made possible.

Since the aim was to measure the effect of the foster home on the child's mental development it was necessary to select children who entered the foster home as early as possible, and to confine the cases to children who had been continuously in the same home in which they were found at the time of the study. It was not necessary, however, to include only legally adopted children. Of the 401 children studied, 335 were committed before six and one-half years of age. The mean age of the entire group at the time of commitment was three and one-half years. The mean age at the time they were examined was eleven years. Two hundred sixty of the children were legitimate and one hundred forty-one illegitimate.

"It may be assumed that foster children placed by a society for the care of dependent children will have a heredity which is somewhat below the average. The evidence in our study goes to show that this assumption is justified. There is also reason to believe that when such children are adopted they are introduced into an environment which is superior to that of their own family. This assumption also has evidence to support it. In the light of these assumptions the original plan of the study was to make three comparisons.

"The first was to be made between two children of a family, one of whom had been adopted into a foster home, while the other had remained in his own home. Sufficient data for this type of comparison could not be obtained, because when one child of a family is adopted, the whole family is usually broken up.

"The second comparison was to be made between children of a family (siblings) who had been separated and adopted into homes of different type. Such conditions would make possible, as in the first comparison, the separation of the factors of heredity and environment, since the former would be fairly similar, but the latter quite different, in the case of each pair of siblings. This, of course,

assumes that children of the same parents have, on the average, the same inheritance. Besides making this assumption, it would be necessary to show that there was no tendency for the brighter child of a family to be placed in the better home. It was found possible to obtain some data of this type, a consideration of which forms an important part of the study.

"It was hoped that the investigation might furnish another crucial comparison, namely, that between a foster child and an own child in the same family. If the foster child were adopted when quite young, the environment of the two would be similar but the heredity different. Under such conditions it would be possible to observe the effects of a difference in heredity. Data of this sort were found to be very limited because of the fact that foster parents do not usually have children of their own.

"Because of the small number of cases involved in the foregoing comparisons it seemed desirable to broaden the scope of the study by including a larger body of cases in which the factors of heredity and environment were less clearly differentiated. In spite of the fact that these cases could not be used in the crucial comparisons desired, nevertheless their greater numbers added reliability to certain of the more general and less direct comparisons which were made."

The main comparisons made in the study which yield significant data bearing on our problem may be briefly summarized. In the first place, it is significant to compare the average intelligence of the group of foster children as a whole with the intelligence of children in general. Since the majority of foster children may be assumed to have inferior heredity and early environment, anything above a decidedly inferior average intelligence means that the foster home has raised the children's intelligence. In the second place, we may find the actual gain made by children who were tested at the time of adoption and several years later. A few children who had such tests before and after were found. In the third place, we may make the comparison of siblings, already mentioned. Finally we may compare the intelligence quotient of the foster children with the rating of the foster home by the method of correlation.

The most general fact concerning the entire group of foster chil-

dren is that their average intelligence is about the same as that of children in general. Their average intelligence quotient is 98.5, while children in general have an average intelligence quotient of 100. Since the prevailing evidence would indicate that the parents of these children were considerably below the average in intelligence and since children in the type of environment from which they came are regularly found to have an intelligence quotient 10 to 15 points below 100, it is natural to infer that the intelligence quotient of these children has been materially raised by their residence in the foster homes.

A certain number of children were found who had been given a mental test before they were adopted. This group numbered 74. It was possible to compare their first with their second test and discover whether they had gained under the environment of the foster home. The entire group gained an average of 7.5 points, and those in the better foster homes gained an average of 10 points.

A rather direct comparison of the effect of the foster home could be made in the case of siblings. When one sibling is placed in one home and another in another a comparison of their intelligence quotients should indicate whether children of similar heredity are made unlike by a diversity of environment. It was found that, on the average, the member of a pair in a superior home had a higher intelligence quotient than the other member of the pair in an inferior home. Another method was to find the correlation between the intelligence of siblings who were separated. This correlation was considerably lower than that of siblings in their own homes, indicating that the resemblance had been reduced as a result of their separation.

The comparison of the intelligence of the entire group with the grade of the foster homes gave a correlation coefficient of .48. This is interpreted to mean that the foster home was an influential factor in determining the children's intelligence quotients.

The measurement of the intelligence of the children was supplemented by two other forms of appraisal. The first consisted of the record of progress in school. This is a very good measure of children's general intellectual achievement. Of children in general it is usual to find twice as many retarded in school as accelerated. Of the

foster children group only 11 per cent were retarded, as against 14 per cent who were accelerated. If we select from the entire group those who were adopted before two years of age and are in better homes on the one hand, and those who were adopted after five years of age and are in poorer homes on the other hand, we find that 23 per cent of the first group are accelerated and 2 per cent retarded, while but 2 per cent of the second group are accelerated and 47 per cent are retarded.

The second supplementary appraisal was an estimate of the conduct of the children. There is no standardized scale of conduct, so this comparison must be very rough. We divided the cases of misbehavior which were reported into those of a very serious nature, such as would be likely to get the child into trouble outside the home, and those of a serious nature but which could probably be handled in the home. Of the very serious cases there were thirteen, or 3 per cent of the entire group. Of the serious cases, including the thirteen very serious cases, there were thirty-three, or 8 per cent of the entire group. Whether these percentages are greater than for the population as a whole we do not know, but they are certainly much smaller than for the type of homes from which these foster children were drawn.

The cumulative effect of the entire study points to the conclusion that a child's intelligence quotient is affected to a considerable degree by his environment.

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JUVENILE SUICIDE

SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF THE SUICIDE PROBLEM

SUICIDE is a distinctly human phenomenon. Intentional self-destruction is, of course, unthinkable and unknown in any other form of life. Moreover, it looks as if suicide is a by-product of that differential human quality, self-awareness; for when, in the evolution of human consciousness, the individual is able to look at himself in the same objective way that he looks at others, we have the possibility of self-destruction as well as of self-preservation.

One of the most interesting phases of the general subject of suicide is the variety of ways in which self-destruction is regarded by different social groups. Every group, be it ancient or modern, pre-literate or civilized, has a very definite attitude toward the practice—usually an attitude of disapproval. In many societies, notably our own, not only is suicide forbidden, but if the attempt fails the individual is liable to punishment. In Anglo-American law it ranks among the highest crimes and is a species of felony.¹

The reasons for this social disapproval are nowhere more bizarre than those implicit in the common law.² Blackstone, the great commentator, puts it thus:

The suicide is guilty of a double offense; one spiritual, in invading the prerogative of the Almighty, and rushing into His immediate presence uncalled for; the other temporal, against the king, who hath an interest in the preservation of all his subjects.³

While suicide is an aberration as old as the race itself, our knowledge of its mechanisms and causes is still very meager. The following are a sample of the few generalities that are corroborated by the meager scientific studies of the subject:

¹ At the present time, of course, this law is rarely enforced.

² Under a Massachusetts act of 1660, suicides were denied the privileges of Christian burial, and were directed to be buried in the highway, with a cartload of stones laid upon the grave, "as a brand of infamy" (*Cyclopaedia of Law and Procedure*, XXXVII, 523).

³ *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book IV, chap. xiii, p. 189.

1. Suicide is two or three times more frequent among males than females.
2. It is essentially a characteristic of adulthood and more often committed by single persons than married ones.
3. Suicide varies more with culture patterns, social attitudes, social disorganization, etc., than it does with race, notwithstanding the general trend among north-Europeans, for example, to a higher suicide rate than the south-Europeans.

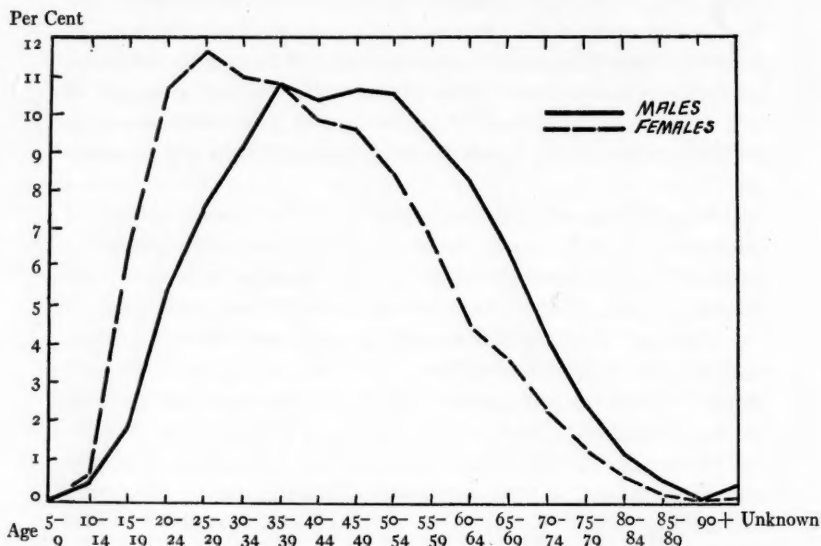


FIG. 1.—Per cent distribution, by sex and age, of all suicides in the U.S. Registration Area, 1916-25 inclusive: 79,193 males; 26,011 females. (Compiled from U.S. Mortality Statistics.)

4. It is more frequent in urban areas than in rural ones.
5. In northern countries, at least, the rate for the spring months usually exceeds that for any other season.¹

While this paper is concerned primarily with youthful suicides, two original diagrams are included here that deal with the general aspects of the problem. Figure 1 gives the per cent distribution, by age and sex, of all suicides in the United States Registration Area

¹ For further discussion and bibliography on the general subject of suicide, see the excellent work of Dr. Ruth S. Cavan, *Suicide* (University of Chicago Press, 1927).

during the decade 1916-25. Of the 105,204 cases of suicide reported for this period, only 26,011, or 24.7 per cent, were females. It will be noted also that the modal age-period for female suicides is twenty-five to twenty-nine years, whereas the peak for males is thirty-five to thirty-nine. This means, of course, that women generally commit suicide younger than men.

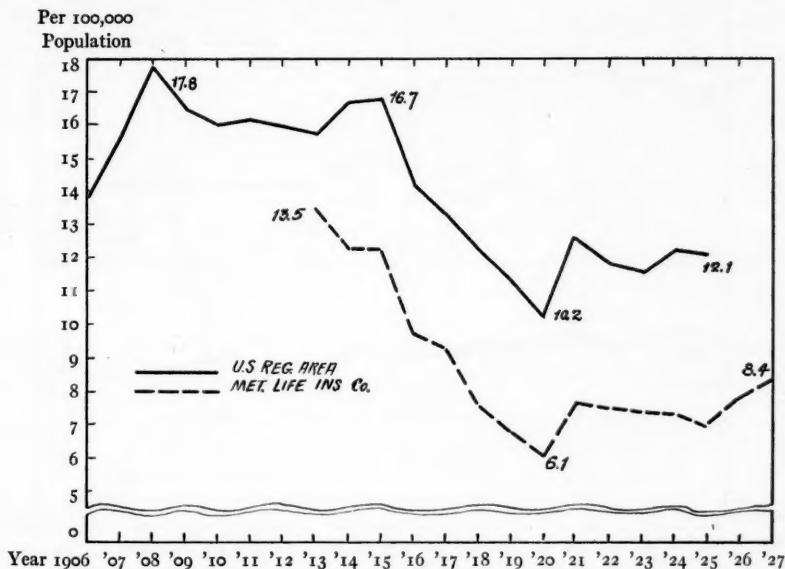


FIG. 2.—Death-rates from suicide per 100,000 population: (a) in the U.S. Registration Area, 1906-25, and (b) in the Industrial Dept., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 1913-27.

From the data compared in Figure 2, it is quite apparent that there has been a general decline in the suicide death-rate in the United States during the twenty-year period 1906-25.

YOUTHFUL SUICIDES IN GENERAL

Not only is there a marked decline from 1906 to 1925 in the proportion of suicides in the United States, but the suicide is much older now than formerly. This fact is revealed in Figure 3, which compares the percentage of male and female suicides under twenty-

five years of age in the United States from 1906 to 1925. While there is a substantial decline in the proportion of male suicides under twenty-five years of age, there is more than three times as great a reduction in the rate for females.

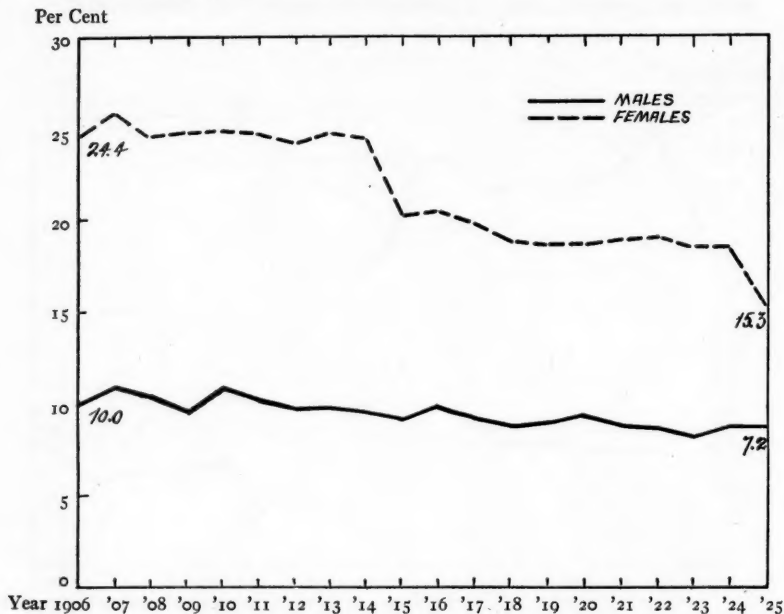


FIG. 3.—Percentage of male and female suicides under twenty-five years of age in the U.S. Registration Area, 1906-25 inclusive. (Compiled from U.S. Mortality Statistics.)

Since the biological factors have, in all probability, been equally constant for both sexes during this period, the differential increase in the age of female suicides must therefore be due to the influence of socio-psychological and economic factors.

THE RECENT "SUICIDE-WAVE" AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS

When in January and February, 1927, some twenty-five cases of suicide among American college students were reported, a question arose as to whether there was a bona fide epidemic of suicide among young college men or whether the so-called "suicide-wave"

was merely an illusion created by the newspaper treatment of the facts.¹

Some authorities immediately questioned the fact of a suicide-wave and produced evidence to show that no such wave existed. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, for example, in its

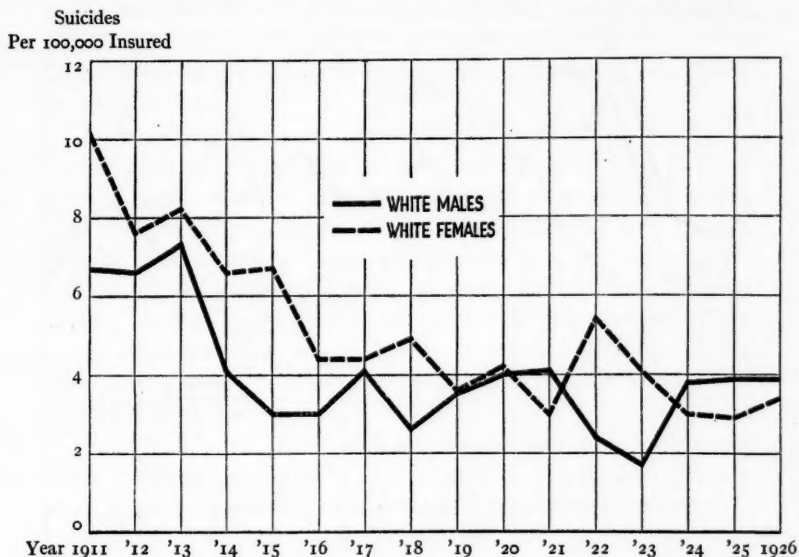


FIG. 4—Suicides among young persons. Deaths per 100,000 white males and females, ages fifteen to nineteen years, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Industrial Dept., 1911-26.

statistical bulletin for February, 1927, published the graph here designated as Figure 4, with the comment, "In spite of the recent flurry, the general tendency of the suicide rate among young people has been distinctly downward during the last sixteen years."²

By inference, at least, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's conclusion was misleading. First, because the data considered do not include the period of the alleged "wave" of 1927. Second, the age group considered, fifteen to nineteen years, can hardly be said

¹ So-called "crime-waves" are often merely newspaper illusions.

² Quoted widely. See, for example, *Literary Digest*, XCV (October 22, 1927), 25.

to represent the average of American college students. Moreover, an analysis of the subsequent death-rates for suicide, published month by month in this same company's splendid bulletin, gives us the comparison contained in Figure 5.

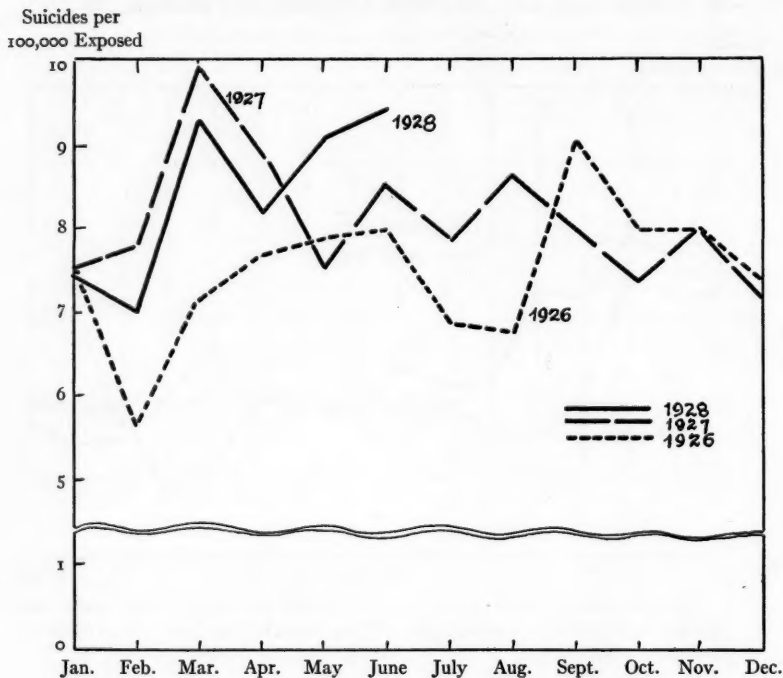


FIG. 5.—Suicide death-rates per 100,000 lives exposed by months for 1926, 1927, and first half of 1928. (Compiled from reports of Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.)

It will be noted that as compared with the same period in 1926, there was a marked increase in the suicide death-rate during the first three or four months of 1927. While, of course, these rates include all lives exposed, they nevertheless indicate an unusual trend for which no adequate explanation has as yet been offered.

The point is that until more extensive data, such as the mortality statistics of the United States Census Bureau, are available it does not seem safe to conclude that there was or was not a suicide-wave among young persons of college age in 1927.

Some commentators, on the other hand, accepting the alleged suicide-wave as an established fact, squared away at once to a discussion of its causes and its cures. Many observers recognized immediately that there are more student suicides now than formerly for the simple reason that there is a vastly greater number of young people now in college than ever before. Several leading newspapers saw in these suicides evidence of a growing cynicism in college circles and the rise of a mechanistic philosophy in institutions of higher learning.

In a very good paper,¹ a recent college graduate, Mr. E. C. Aswell, analyzed the proximate causes of the twenty-six cases of student suicide reported in the United States press during January, February, and March, 1927. He says that one student sought death because of an incurable disease, two because of shame, while all the rest found life "not worth living." He believes the deeper cause of student suicide, however, to be the habit which the modern college has of destroying old beliefs without replacing them, and the general unpreparedness of present-day college students to meet the ordinary crises of life.

Psychiatrists generally were apparently neither surprised nor disturbed at this outburst of student suicide. The marked increase in the number of so-called "problem children" during the past twenty years or so goes far to explain not only suicide, but crime and neurosis, which, according to some authorities, are also on the increase. Here is a triad of aberrations, each one of which, says Dr. Walter Béran Wolfe,² points an accusing finger at parents and teachers, homes and schools, for their improper guidance of young people.

Given our traditional college system, with its presuppositions of maturity and superior ability in the student, it is not at all difficult to see how easy it is for the overindulged, underweaned youth of mediocre ability who now crowd into college to choose suicide as a means of escape or evasion in a crisis.

ANALYSIS OF ONE HUNDRED CASES OF YOUTHFUL SUICIDE IN CHICAGO

The investigation reported here was undertaken for the purpose of determining the nature and extent of youthful suicide in a metro-

¹ "Student Suicide," *Forum*, LXXVII (May, 1927), 696-703.

² "Adolescent Suicide," *Hygeia*, VI (March, 1928), 125-27.

politan area.¹ It was prompted in part by the current discussion of student suicides, but more particularly by the striking paucity of data on the general subject of juvenile self-destruction.

With the kind consent of the Cook County Coroner,² the most recent one hundred cases of suicide, twenty-one years of age and

TABLE I
SOCIAL FACTS REGARDING 100 JUVENILE SUICIDES IN CHICAGO, 1921-27

SEX	AGE									TOTAL
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
Boys.....	3	.....	1	2	6	4	12	9	8	45
Girls.....	2	2	3	4	3	7	14	12	8	55
	5	2	4	6	9	11	26	21	16	100

COLOR	
White	Colored
90	10

Marital State	Boys	Girls	Total
Married.....	5	21	26
Single.....	40	34	74
	45	55	100

under, in Chicago, were carefully analyzed. In order to secure this number of cases it was necessary to go back from 1927 to 1921.

Table I describes the sex, age, color, and marital-state distribution of the cases. The characteristic sex difference in suicide referred to earlier is quite apparent, even in such a small series as this. It is striking, too, that one-fifth of the girl suicides were sixteen years of age and under. The modal age for both sexes is, singularly enough, nineteen years.

¹ The lack of uniformity and the general inaccessibility of data make comparisons by cities almost impossible. A notable exception is the excellent data contained in the following article by G. Ichok, "Peut-on parler, en France, d'une épidémie de suicides?" *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris*, Nos. 7, 8, 9 (1926), p. 278.

² Mr. Oscar Wolff. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Misses Irene V. Page and Ethel H. Lynch, graduate students in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, for some splendid help with the case studies.

The three significant facts revealed in Table II, which compares the methods of self-destruction employed by juveniles and adults in Chicago, are: (1) that neither boys nor girls employ asphyxiating gas as often as do older persons; (2) that boys characteristically use firearms, while (3) girls use poison and firearms with equal frequency. It seems probably safe to assume, however, that the choice of method employed is determined largely by its accessibility and by the individual's predetermined choice.

TABLE II
MEANS OF SELF-DESTRUCTION EMPLOYED IN 100 CASES OF
JUVENILE SUICIDE IN CHICAGO, 1921-27

	Boys	Girls	Total	Means Employed by Adult Suicides in Chicago
Shooting.....	21	18	39	2
Poisoning.....	6	18	24	3
Asphyxiation (gas).....	6	15	21	1
Hanging.....	8	.....	8	4
Drowning.....	.....	3	3	6
Jumping (under train).....	3	.....	3	8
Jumping (from window).....	.....	1	1	7
Cutting.....	1	.....	1	5
	45	55	100	(Rank)

An attempt was made to determine, from the reports of the Coroner's inquests, something of the conflicts which precipitated these youthful suicides. The following is the result:

Love affairs.....	13
Illness.....	12
Domestic conflicts.....	11
School conflicts.....	6
Vocational conflicts.....	4
Unknown or very uncertain.....	54
	<u>100</u>

The number of "unknowns" is, of course, very large. Moreover, it is not safe to assume that if the facts were known, these cases would distribute themselves in the same way as do the known cases. It is probably safe to say that many of the "unknown" conflicts

would turn out to be due to a sense of shame, fear of disgrace or punishment, etc.

Rather striking is the fact—usually brought out at the inquest—that in twenty-two cases the young person had previously indicated by threat or overt attempt a desire or intention to end his own life. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that had these threats been intelligently heeded, many of these young people might still be alive and making satisfactory adjustments.

Another interesting socio-psychological fact revealed in this series is the nature and frequency of the suicide note. Such notes or letters, usually addressed to relatives, lovers, etc., were found in twenty-one cases. The following excerpts are more or less typical:

COLORED MALE, EIGHTEEN YEARS

Tell mother we'll meet in the great beyond. Life was no more good to me. I went to a doctor today and he said there was not any happiness for me. [History of venereal disease.]

COLORED FEMALE, SIXTEEN YEARS

MY DEAR AUNT:

. . . . I thought I loved you, but I hate you for bringing me up here and then make me do something against my mother's will. You want me to go to school but I am "too good" to go out anywhere and speak to a boy. It looks to me if I can go to school I can at least go somewhere else, but I will end my earthly trouble and make you suffer no more. You can cremate my body if you want to. I am 16 years old and still can't have 3 nights out a week so I said the more you keep me home the longer I would stay from school. You have driven me to this.

WHITE FEMALE, EIGHTEEN YEARS

Harry, I could not go through the trouble I was in and the best thing is to end it all. [Seven months pregnant.]

ALICE

WHITE MALE, NINETEEN YEARS

TO EVERYBODY:

I am sorry but the thing I like in the world is sleep. I would like to go to sleep and never wake up. This is the quickest possible way to get a final resting-place. Good-bye and good luck. [History of epilepsy.]

WHITE MALE, NINETEEN YEARS

DEAREST:

I love you with all my heart and I would do anything in the world for you, but what is the use of me working as hard as I can and then never be able to

marry the only girl I can ever love because her mother forbids it? Sorry I could not have acted different as you are a wonderful pal, dear, and nothing in the world would have made me more happy than to have married you and I will always carry that wish as long as I live. I think what I have done is for the best as I cannot stay away from you and it is the only way I can give you your chance. . . .

THE CAUSES OF SUICIDE

It takes little reflection to convince one that suicide is a uniform consequent of many different antecedents and that its causes, therefore, are multiple. In this respect suicide is like insanity, crime, epilepsy, etc. In the language of medicine, it is a symptom; it indicates a more deep-seated cause.

Objective studies of suicide causation are astonishingly few, hence it is that our knowledge of the subject is fragmentary and uncertain, to say the least. The purpose here is not to discuss causation exhaustively, but merely to call attention to some typical data and to certain prevalent hypotheses.

Recently the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company tabulated the related causes of self-destruction in 2,211 cases.¹ Of this number, 727, or about one-third of the cases, showed

an associated condition of body or mind. . . . Some form of mental disease was reported in 416 of the 727 cases, or 57 per cent. Alcoholism came next in the list as a related condition. This was mentioned in 36 cases, or in nearly 5 per cent of the total in which an associated condition was mentioned. Cerebral hemorrhage, or apoplexy, ranked next. . . . Diseases of the nervous system, other than mental alienation and apoplexy, were reported in 31 cases. . . . The facts strongly suggest that suicide is in most cases the culminating act in a mental derangement, and the more complete the investigation, the more likely is this condition to be discovered in the background of the case.

Following her thoughtful analysis of the subject, Dr. Cavan advances the theory that suicide is the corollary of two factors, personal disorganization and a favorable attitude toward suicide.² In contrast with this rather general, yet plausible thesis, we have the bizarre but interesting contention of Dr. Anita M. Mühl, who, in attempting to explain San Diego's phenomenally high suicide rate, argues that this "jumping-off place" in the extreme southwest corner

¹ *Statistical Bulletin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company*, April, 1927, p. 4.

² "Who Commits Suicide?" *Survey*, LVIII (May 15, 1927), 200-201.

of the United States "holds a death lure for individuals with regressive tendencies. . . ."¹

Kempf² has made a most helpful analysis of what he calls the "patterns of feelings" which compel suicide. The following is a digest of his scheme:

1. Religious devotion and loyalty [e.g., following husband to the grave].
2. Fanatical experiments [e.g., to explore the hereafter].
3. As an honorable alternative to execution [e.g., for military dishonor].
4. When one has become a serious incumbrance to his companions [e.g., as in case of shipwreck, famine, war].
5. Suicide to avoid capture, torture, or slavery.
6. Arising out of "delirious erotic pressure."
7. Suicide of guilt or shame.
8. Suicide of revenge, compelled by brooding, feelings of injury, "or a conviction of the futility of love."

The foregoing very stimulating analysis suggests other patterns of feeling which might be added to the list. One can think of the following, for example:

1. Suicide to assert one's independence; the desire to be the "captain" of one's soul, for example.
2. Suicide to relieve the tensions due to incompatibility.
3. Suicide springing from genuine self-hatred, i.e., an aberration of the self-regarding attitudes and feelings.

None of these analyses, however, throws much light on the genetic phase of the subject. They therefore yield little understanding of juvenile suicide, the subject with which this paper is primarily concerned. In approaching the subject from this angle, the present writer has assumed what most students of behavior will readily agree to, namely, that suicide is a form of evasion. It would seem worth while, therefore, to consider suicide in its relationship to other characteristic forms of evasion and human adjustment. The following scheme makes no attempt at completeness; it is merely suggestive:

CHARACTERISTIC TYPES OF ADJUSTMENT IN A CRISIS

- I. Facing the problem and solving it at the appropriate time and in the socially approved way.

¹ "America's Greatest Suicide Problem; A Study of Over Five-Hundred Cases in San Diego," *Psycho-Analytic Review*, XIV (July, 1927), 317-25.

² "The Meaning of Suicide," *New Republic*, L (May 11, 1927), 324-27.

II. Evading the situation by means of:

- a) Postponement, procrastination, "dilly dallying," etc.
- b) By a redefinition of the situation, such as:
 1. Rationalization, self-justification, etc.
 2. Falsification, misstatement, lying, etc.
- c) Putting the matter "out of mind," as by:
 1. Simply forgetting.
 2. Preoccupation with a substitute activity.
 3. Changing the appearance of reality (by means of alcohol, drugs, etc.).
 4. Repression or dissociation.
 5. Flight into disease, as in hysteria and the other psycho-neuroses.
 6. Flight into fantasy, as in hallucinations, delusions, and other psychotic symptoms.
- d) Running away, as in:
 1. Truancy, desertion, wandering, etc.
 2. Suicide.

Assuming the general validity of the foregoing scheme, the mental-hygiene possibilities for character and personality development of young children are at once apparent. Perhaps it will some day appear quite as important to teach a child how to meet a crisis intelligently as it is to develop his skill in reading and arithmetic.

THE PREVENTION OF SUICIDE

The proposals to prevent and minimize suicide are striking in their variety. Dr. Cavan proposes a solution by "giving the individual some firm and systematic outline of the interest of a full life and a means of satisfying them, or making suicide repulsive."¹ Students at the University of Baltimore, soon after the student suicide-wave, organized an anti-suicide club in the hope of counteracting the current tendency.² Judge James C. Cropsey, of Brooklyn, would prohibit the publication of suicide news in the press.³ A rather ironical proposal issued from the Harlem Luncheon Association, which, it is reported,⁴ addressed a letter to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company asking that a fine-meshed screen be placed around both sides of the One Hundred and Tenth Street elevated station,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

² *New York Times*, February 18, 1927, p. 23, col. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, col. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, January 31, 1927, p. 19, col. 4.

because the frequent suicides at that place are said to be hurting business in that locality! The Anti-Suicide Bureau of the Salvation Army, operating in London and New York City, is a well-known agency of friendly help to persons found contemplating suicide.¹ Because of the recent epidemic of suicide in Vienna, it is reported that *Die Unzufriedene*, a socialist women's newspaper, opened a bureau for free advice to girls and women.² These are more or less typical of the thought and effort directed toward the prevention of suicide.

It is quite apparent that one effective means of preventing suicide is the control of those related conditions of body and mind already referred to in this article.

It is obvious, too, that if suicide is to be prevented or minimized, individuals should be rendered immune to the acceptance of this form of evasion before they reach adult life. Perhaps no one influence will be quite so great in preventing juvenile and adult self-destruction as the early detection and treatment of neurotic tendencies in childhood. To realize such an objective will, of course, require the thoroughgoing establishment of mental-hygiene facilities in the public schools. Under such a program, all children would be taught the art of facing difficulties, the technique of what Stewart Paton has called "rational self-management." Such a program of mental hygiene will, of necessity, have to deal with the knotty problems of sex and parental education.

It is worthy of note that the most extensive application of mental-hygiene principles and practices in the schools has taken place largely on the college and university level. The recent experiments at Yale and other universities have demonstrated the imperative need for such facilities, not only in college, but in the elementary and the secondary schools. It is interesting to note, in this connection, a statement made by Dr. Hugo Gressman, of the University of Berlin, while in the United States some time ago. In commenting on the suicides in American colleges, he reports that in Germany a number of universities have appointed what are called *Studen-*

¹ See *Survey*, LV (March 15, 1926), 686-87; also *Literary Digest*, LXXXVIII (March 27, 1926), 31-32.

² *New York Times*, May 22, 1927, ix, p. 6, col. 2.

lenpastoren, representatives of the clergy whose sole duty it is to act as advisers and friends to students in the university.

The students know that when they have any disturbing problem, either financial, spiritual, sexual, or mental, they can always find a friend and guide in this university chaplain, usually a man who has undergone rigid tests for his sympathetic understanding of human nature and his general contact with the environment of university youth.¹

Before a program of prevention is too vigorously undertaken, there should, of course, be ample provision for investigation and research into the whole subject of suicide. There seems little reason to doubt that our present ignorance of the nature and causes of suicide would be greatly reduced if a program of scientific study were instituted.² Such a program of research not only would yield practical results in the prevention of suicide, but would throw much light on the phenomena of consciousness, a subject too little understood. It seems not too much to say that when we understand more about the nature and genesis of self-consciousness, we shall have thrown a flood of light on the problems of suicide.

¹ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1927, p. 16, col. 4.

² "The Museum of Suicide at Odessa, Russia, said to be twenty-five years old, is unique not because of its accomplishments, perhaps, but because of its rarity" (*ibid.*, May 24, 1927, p. 9, col. 4).

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PERSONNEL STANDARDS IN PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

IN PUBLIC welfare work, as in most other fields, the development of standards for personnel has lagged far behind the development of standards for materiel. In purchasing coal, for example, it is customary to prescribe detailed specifications as to heating value, moisture, ash, time and place of delivery, and the like. Likewise detailed specifications are commonly used in purchasing ink, typewriter ribbons, sugar, and various other articles used in offices and institutions. Corresponding specifications for personal services, however, are not common. Indeed, such standards as are observed in practice most frequently have not even been reduced to writing, and the observance of such standards as exist is more or less spasmodic.

The reasons for such a state of affairs are in part at least pretty obvious. Supplies and materials can be classified and described more easily than human beings because they conform more closely to pattern. There are different kinds of coal, to be sure, but not so many kinds as there are human beings. The differences may be as numerous and fundamental, but they probably are not, and at any rate they do not appear on the surface. Material things, moreover, do not offer the objections to being classified in a certain way that human beings are prone to bring forward. Ink, for example, may be classified as stationery along with lead pencils and letterheads, and an express charge entered under the same heading as telephone and telegraph charges, without any objection from the things themselves. The chemist, however, frequently declines to admit any close vocational relationship with the laboratory assistant who works under his direction, and may interpose serious objections if any attempt is made to group the two together. Even in America there is a great deal of vocational caste not easily discernible by the person unfamiliar with the distinctions drawn in the profession, occupation, or trade. These and similar considerations have led most persons whose work brings them into contact with both personnel and materiel to give atten-

tion, so far as classification and standards are concerned, almost exclusively to the latter, while as yet most occupational groups have perceived only dimly the advantages that would come from classifying themselves, formulating definite standards, and reducing these standards to writing for the education and information of all concerned or interested.

The need for personnel standards in welfare or any other kind of diversified work is so obvious as not to require more than passing mention. It is through the formulation of such standards that the group discovers and makes known to its own members the best thought of those who give serious consideration to personnel needs and requirements. It is through such standards that the group makes known to the budget authorities, the chief executive, and the appropriating body a considerable part of its financial wants. It is through such standards that from time to time necessary steps are taken to bridge the gap between an existing unsatisfactory status and a goal set up as desirable. It is through such standards that any occupational group in the course of time achieves the status properly described as "professional."

As has been clearly implied already, setting up personnel standards for any diversified group is a complex matter, and establishing and administering the machinery necessary to secure observance of such standards as are formulated is fraught with even greater difficulty. There seems to be an irresistible tendency, whenever attention is given to problems of this sort, to over-simplify them and to seek some solution more or less in the nature of a panacea. Most commonly, perhaps, some formal machinery for the selection of personnel is looked upon as the final and complete answer.

This is a point of view with which I find I cannot agree. For a good many years both my work and my temperament have forced me to analyze the personnel problem to the best of my ability; and I have had an opportunity such as comes to few persons to observe in various parts of the United States and Canada what various personnel proposals that have been tried out in practice actually produce in the way of results. My analysis, which is also that of many abler persons engaged in personnel work in the public service and in the commercial world, leads me—and them—to the conclusion that proper personnel administration neither begins nor ends with

selection; that there are other things which necessarily must precede selection to make it intelligent and which must necessarily follow it to make it effective; and that, in fact, there is a whole group of personnel functions to which simultaneous and continuous attention must be given if any one of them is to be exercised in such a manner as to produce more than the most meager results. The machinery for handling these functions may be formal or informal; the service or occupational group may be large or small; the diversity of working conditions and employment may be much or little. In every case, however, certain fundamental problems must be dealt with as a group if certain ends that are desirable are to be attained.

A brief statement of the functions necessarily involved in making an effective attack upon personnel problems may be helpful. As conceived by those who have studied the matter most, the following matters are necessarily involved in good personnel administration:

1. The preparation, adoption, and administration of a duties classification. This involves ascertaining and recording the duties of every position in the service; grouping together in one class under a common descriptive title those positions sufficiently alike to be treated alike in handling employment matters; the preparation of written specifications for each class of positions, including (a) a title for the class as far as may be suggestive and descriptive, (b) a short definition telling what positions are to be included in and excluded from the class, illustrated where necessary by examples of typical tasks performed by those holding positions allocated to the class, (c) the qualifications required of and desired in those appointed to any position in the class, and (d) if possible a statement of the principal or normal lines of promotion; the allocation of individual positions to the proper classes; and the development and use of rules of administration.

2. The preparation, adoption, and administration of a scientific compensation plan which provides a schedule of compensation, normally with minimum, maximum, and intermediate rates, for each class of positions, together with a set of rules according to which it is to be administered. Any scientific compensation plan provides schedules of compensation which take reasonable account of such factors as the duties performed, the responsibilities exercised, the prevailing rates of pay for similar work elsewhere, the opportunities

for promotion, the hazards of the occupation, the cost and standards of living, and the social worth of the work.

3. The selection, through suitable tests, of persons to enter the service or to be promoted in it. These tests may be formal or informal, written or unwritten, competitive or non-competitive. They should measure, as far as may be, the extent to which those tested possess or lack the traits, aptitudes, and skills which are necessary for the successful performance of the duties of the class of positions for which the tests are held.

4. When vacancies occur, some method of getting at work and on the payroll those who have been found best qualified through the tests previously given.

5. A group of functions dealing with employees in the service, including training new and old employees, transfers, leaves of absence, service (efficiency) ratings, hours of work, attendance, and, to some degree at any rate, working conditions.

6. A group of functions concerned with the temporary and permanent separations of employees from the service, including lay-offs because of lack of work or funds, suspensions and other disciplinary actions, forced removals and reductions, and retirements under a pension system.

7. A group of miscellaneous functions, including such matters as the establishment and maintenance of proper relations among the chief executive, the legislative body, the budget authorities, the central personnel agency, organized and unorganized employees, operating officers in departments and institutions, representatives of the press, and the general public.

These various matters, it will be noted, are related quite closely to personnel. They do not take cognizance, for example, of the problems involved in determining what welfare work shall or shall not be undertaken nor the organization and procedure considered effective for carrying on such work. They accept for better or worse such decisions as have been made on these points and concern themselves with the problems of personnel involved in giving effect to such decisions. It might with some show of justice be argued that in effect two of these functions—the preparation, adoption, and to some extent the administration of classification and compensation plans—deal with the impersonal thing called the position rather than with

the person holding it. This, of course, is true, but the fact remains that the starting point in personnel work must be the classifying, grouping, and naming of positions and the determination of proper rates of pay in view of the duties to be performed and the responsibilities to be exercised by the person holding the position.

The extent to which specifications of the sort discussed have been prepared, embodying such personnel standards as have been developed, is astonishing to one who has not looked into the matter, though in fact only a good start has been made. Most commonly in the public service a classification for the service of some particular state, city, or other jurisdiction is prepared following a survey by persons who specialize in the work. For example, such specifications have been prepared and are used for working purposes for greater or larger portions of the federal services of the United States and Canada; for considerable portions of the state services of Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maryland, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and California; for the county services of Milwaukee, Alameda, and Los Angeles; and for much of the city services of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, St. Paul, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Much of the work, to be sure, was done under such conditions that it represents only a pioneer effort. In practice, however, the specifications and standards are constantly being changed and as a rule improved; at any given time in the United States classification and compensation plans for at least half a dozen different jurisdictions are undergoing a more or less general overhauling process.

In a few instances the attack has been by professions rather than by jurisdictions. The Engineering Council in 1919, for example, worked out broad classification and compensation plans for the whole engineering profession and presented them to the profession in a leaflet of seventeen pages, which is now out of print. A much finer classification plan for a small part of the engineering profession was worked out by the Committee on Specifications for Highway Engineering Positions by the American Association of Engineers and printed as a bulletin of the National Research Council for May, 1924.¹ Two such studies have been made for parts of the library

¹ *Minimum Specifications for Highway Engineering Positions* (National Research Council, Washington, D.C.). Pp. 105. \$1.50.

profession. One, made in 1923, represents the ideas of the librarians in the federal service at Washington, D.C.¹ The other study, more comprehensive in character, was intended to develop classification and compensation plans for the whole library profession but was later limited to public, college, and university libraries. The study was carried on over a period of three years by a committee of the American Library Association for which the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration acted as the technical staff. The report was printed in 1927.² Some other professional groups have done some work of the same kind without as yet being ready to publish their findings and recommendations. In my opinion the personnel standards for welfare work would be more quickly and more generally raised to accord with the ideals of those who have given most thought to the subject, if the public welfare group and the public personnel group would co-operate in encouraging and directing the technical work needed to prepare the specifications which would represent the ideas and ideals of both groups.

Classification and compensation plans, as is implied above, are not ends in themselves but constitute the tools needed for effective recruiting work, for handling various employment matters affecting those in any given service, and for exercising intelligent control over temporary and permanent separations. It would make this article unduly long to describe in detail such standards and administrative practices as have been developed in these various matters. It seems worth while, however, briefly to summarize the existing status.

As to recruiting, either in the sense of employing persons in a particular organization or in the sense of granting or withholding licenses, the situation is far from satisfactory. Up to fifteen years ago most educators, personnel examiners, and others concerned with tests were of the opinion that they had their problems well in hand. The introduction of statistical conceptions and methods, however, showed the fallacy of these opinions—for opinions, and not demonstrated conclusions, they were. Repeated investigations have shown

¹ *Specifications for Library Service in the Federal Government, 1923* (published by the District of Columbia Library Association, Washington, D.C.).

² *Proposed Classification and Compensation Plans for Library Positions, 1927* (published by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, Mills Building, Washington, D.C.). Pp. 208. \$2.15.

that the use of traditional written tests normally gives results so little better than chance as to be most discouraging. At about the same time, however, a better measuring tool in the form of written tests in the short-answer form began to be used and at the present day this device offers more hope of improving testing methods than any other single available tool.

In many—perhaps most—commercial organizations the turnover is so large (being often 100 per cent or more annually) as to be a cause for alarm. In the public service, on the other hand, the annual labor turnover is often so small (sometimes being less than 10 per cent) as to be cause for equal concern. The crudeness of present-day standards is shown by the fact that such labor turnover standards as exist apply to whole services and not to particular occupations. Practice with reference, for example, to vacations and retirement systems are almost equally crude. In the commercial world, moreover, it is difficult to find a retirement system that is actuarially sound, and the number of such systems in the public service can almost be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Few data are available as to the number of forced removals in the public service, but it is known that the number is small and that many employees who are unwilling to work or who are incapable of rendering efficient services are retained on the payroll. As to lay-offs, the status is somewhat better but still leaves much to be desired. In a word, there are only a few crudely scientific standards observed in practice with regard to separations.

Inevitably the question arises as to how better standards can be developed and better administration secured. The standards in public welfare work, as I have already indicated, must, in my opinion, be formulated and improved through the co-operation of the public welfare group and the group interested in personnel administration as administered through a personnel agency (usually but by no means always called a civil service commission). Such standards as are now formulated and such administrative machinery as has given the best results seem to me to have come from one or the other of these groups; and the best work has been done, in my opinion, when the two have co-operated, as was the case with the Board of Administration and the Civil Service Commission in the state of Illinois under

Governors Deneen and Dunne from 1911 to 1917. The time is ripe, I believe, for these two groups to get together as groups through their respective organizations and define more adequately than has yet been done the various classes of positions, the qualifications that ought to be required, and reasonable standards of compensation. Developing classification and compensation plans for welfare work would be a tremendous job but the principles, methods, and technique are well understood and the job is difficult only because of its volume, not because of its character. Committees of the National Conference of Social Work or the Association of Social Workers, and of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada would be perfectly competent to direct the study and to give the findings and the recommendations the prestige they ought to have, though it would be necessary, unquestionably, to have a technical, full-time, competent staff for a period of say two years in order to collect and analyze data and formulate the findings and conclusions.

The so-called merit system as operated through a civil service commission or other form of central personnel agency has, I am well aware, many sins to answer for. All too often its administration is stupidly wooden and occasionally actually dishonest. Nevertheless it has substantial achievements to its credit and in the main is in the hands of a group of men and women who, while possibly lacking in vision and sometimes in competence, are governed for the most part by good motives and are capable of being educated. A rather elaborate system of machinery exists in central personnel agencies for doing anything in the personnel field that is considered desirable. The system, moreover, seems to have a higher place in the esteem of the general public than it perhaps deserves and could not be easily displaced even if some better machinery were evolved. The logic of the situation, as I see it, is for the public welfare and personnel groups to co-operate more effectively in making the so-called merit system operate to produce the ends considered desirable rather than to complain at the results now produced or to try to build up some other system which might prove even more disappointing than that now in vogue.

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THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHICAGO SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE UP TO 1921¹

THE REGISTRATION DIVISION OF THE RELIEF AND AID SOCIETY

THE Social Service Exchange in Chicago finds its earliest forebear in the department of registration established in the Charity Organization Society of the city in 1886, while Mr. Alexander Johnson was secretary.² Shortly thereafter, this society and its department of registration were absorbed by the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, incorporated in 1887, the agent of relief in the days after the fire of 1871.

The consolidation of the two organizations is explained by the surviving society in the following statement:

By recent action of both Boards of Directors the Charity Organization Society has become consolidated with the Chicago Relief and Aid Society. The work of both societies, as to objects and methods, is so nearly identical, both aiming to administer charity on business principles, to aid the worthy poor, to prevent pauperism and vagrancy, to detect fraud and imposition, that it was thought unnecessary to keep up two organizations.³

¹ A study of the Social Service Exchange in Chicago was undertaken by the Local Community Research Committee and the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago as a memorial study in honor of Helen Crittenden, registrar of the Exchange between 1909 and 1918, the formative years in its development. A part of the inquiry, published in the *Social Service Review* in September, 1927, had to do with the organization of social service exchanges in the United States and Canada. In the present issue are given the history and the development of the Chicago Social Service Exchange up to 1921, when the present method of operation under the Chicago Council of Social Agencies was adopted. Acknowledgment is made to Miss Francelia Stuenkel for her assistance in the collection of the material and data which are here presented.

² For a graphic account of the organization and brief career of the Chicago Charity Organization Society, see Johnson, *Adventures in Social Work*, chap. iii. On the subject of registration in relation to the development of the charity organization movement, see Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States*, pp. 113, 123-25, 179, 269, 270, 409-10, 449, 517; Edward T. Devine, *Social Work*, pp. 249-50; William John Norton, *The Co-operative Movement in Social Work*, pp. 23-24.

³ *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society to the Common Council of the City of Chicago, from October 31, 1887 to October 31, 1888*, p. 4. The Report continues:

"The suspicion prevails, to a considerable extent, that a large proportion of appli-

The nucleus for the index of the department of registration had been obtained by making a "register of the poor of the city, taken from the County Agent's books, from the investigations of the Society" (i.e., the Charity Organization Society), "from reports of churches, societies, and many other sources."¹ Little more than time enough to get the department established and operating elapsed before the two societies united, so that growth and development up to 1909 were almost entirely under the direction and supervision of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society. By 1905, it was deemed advisable to instal new card forms in the registration index, which, as the following statement shows, had reached considerable volume.

cants for relief are frauds, or paupers and deadbeats, and that they cannot be materially benefited by any form of charity. This, in our opinion, is a great mistake. This report shows that more than one-half of the whole number applying were rejected by this Society, not for the above reasons, but because they are proper subjects for institutions, or other methods of treatment than those practiced by this Society. Many of them are proper cases for the county or other societies, and they are always referred to these. The number of attempted frauds, or of persons who do not need or deserve some consideration is comparatively small. The policy of this Society has ever been to help only those who are usually self-supporting, and who with a little timely temporary help in an emergency will continue to be so. Of course all permanently dependent are excluded. Most of them, however, are proper subjects for state, county or special societies, in which every city abounds, to aid in such manner and to such an extent as they may be able, and as to them seems proper.

"There are great difficulties connected with the management of any society, or the application of any system in charity work, that only those who are engaged in it can understand. One great trouble is that all sorts of people, with all sorts of theories, make it very difficult for any society to pursue a uniform policy or to strictly carry out any valuable measures for the permanent improvement of the poor. A few well-informed and thoughtful men and women, who give the necessary time and labor to the study of the question, can easily establish rules, and if the public would permit them to adhere to these, great good might be accomplished. The masses of the people know and care little about it; others only think of it when their attention is called to some particular case, and that case is, to them, exceptionally worthy; others are governed by feeling or sentiment altogether. The cases they happen to come in contact with should, in their judgment, be immediately helped and carried to an extent utterly subversive of all rules, and ruinous to the subject. Pressure is brought to bear by clergymen, physicians, landlords, city and county officials, kind-hearted ladies and city missionaries or others, who happen to encounter a case of real or assumed distress. These at once send it or come with it to the office, and, utterly indifferent to facts and principles, insist that their particular case must have all that they desire. They will accept no explanation or listen to reason, and if their recommendation is not adopted, often without investigation,

¹ *Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Chicago for the Year Ending October 1, 1886*, p. 4.

Our registration department contains records of 160,000 families. Here is where experience is recorded and duplication prevented. The purpose of records is beneficent not only to the applicant but to the community. We are trying more and more to make these records reveal conditions which need to be corrected; to make the information acquired available for use by those who are interested in correcting existing evils.

We are installing a complete card system both for index and for case records. These forms have been adopted after a long study and comparison with records in use elsewhere. We have been fortunate in having, in this work, the assistance of Mr. Charles B. Ball, whose wide experience in Washington, New York and Chicago, has made him an expert authority on the subject of card forms.¹

It should be noted here that, while perhaps the greater emphasis is still being placed upon the registration department as a means of preventing duplicate effort among social agencies, the recognition of

they denounce the management and either rush to the newspapers or go among their friends with a subscription, or help the applicant out of their own pocket, and ever after, not only refuse subscriptions to this or any other society, but do all that they can to prejudice the public against all official charity. Indeed, these personal contests with persons who urge the claims of others without any regard to rules, or to the philosophy of relief, and the investigation and rejection of cases that ought to help themselves, or to be placed in institutions, or in other ways disposed of without giving them "relief," occupies the most of the time and effort of all actually engaged in charity work.

"With all this, it will not do to abandon 'Relief,' for in every city there are a great many good, honest, industrious people who always do their best and are always at a disadvantage, of whom it is true that their 'Poverty is their destruction,' who must in an emergency be helped or they will inevitably perish, not because they are 'bankrupt in brain, or heart, or hope, or in inventiveness, or resources,' as a late writer upon this subject would make us believe; but, they are down, through no fault of theirs, on account of sickness, bereavement, or want of work, for which they are not responsible. Charity work in any city must be governed by circumstances. The great bulk of our population is very decidedly different, in many respects, from that of eastern cities. We have not many street beggars and never had; we have comparatively few families of the lowest grade of natural paupers. Of course we have some as lazy, improvident and vicious as can be found anywhere, but they can easily be identified and resisted. The county authorities must deal with them. The most of our people are simply *poor people*, struggling as best they can, for a decent existence. Their surroundings are different. Our large foreign population is of the better grade of Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Bohemians, Poles, Italians, and Irish. They are mostly industrious, economical, and self-supporting. We have quite as many poor American families, in proportion to our numbers, as of any other nationality. Nearly all applications to this Society for aid, from all nationalities, are on account of sickness, recent widowhood, a large number of small children, age and infirmity, or temporary lack of work" (*ibid.*).

¹ *Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society from October 31, 1905, to October 31, 1906*, p. 8.

it as truly beneficial to those seeking assistance and to the community at large is also present.

THE REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT OF THE BUREAU OF CHARITIES

From 1894, a second registration department was growing up in Chicago under the care of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, an organization which existed for the "collection of data and as a clearing house for the charities of the city, but not as a dispenser of relief."¹ Multiplication of social agencies and specialization of services had progressed so far at this date that in compiling the register for its registration department the Bureau found 200 charitable associations at work in the community. Included among these were hospitals, children's homes, homes for the aged, relief organizations, nursing associations, public charitable divisions, settlement houses, and churches dispensing material assistance to needy members. This increase in the numbers of agencies and the complexity of their interrelations, together with the growing differentiation in their service, made the need for a central clearing-house and registration department all the more evident and easily demonstrable.

The purpose of a registration department as understood by the Bureau of Charities itself is given as follows in its *Third Annual Report*:

The purpose of the registry is the gathering and furnishing of such information as shall render more efficient the efforts to aid those who require assistance, and minimize fraud, imposition, unwise giving, and street begging. The importance of registration and examination into the needs of the applicant is not always fully recognized even by benevolent people. Persons who simply give alms, and do not make an effort to reach the cause of the distress, aid to pauperize the person designed to be helped.²

The manner in which the Bureau worked toward the accomplishment of this purpose was twofold.

This department of the Bureau registers not only the facts that come under the observation of its own agents but also the reports of the leading philanthropic societies and churches in the city, including hospitals, penal and other institutions, records and knowledge of which are essential to the best treatment

¹ *First Annual Report of Chicago Bureau of Charities*, p. 1.

² *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Associated Charities of the City of Chicago from November, 1896, to October, 1897*, p. 8.

of people in want. When the Bureau of Associated Charities has no information concerning a family reported, it sends one of its agents directly to inquire, with sympathetic care, what the conditions are, so that the persons interested may act with full information.¹

Registration was viewed as "only entirely reasonable and worth doing" as it led "to a wiser, closer, and more humane personal relationship with the individuals" who appeared as cases in the Bureau's files.²

The registration department of the Bureau of Charities, then, collected, accumulated, and dispensed information about individuals and families. That information was not limited to a statement of what social agencies were acquainted with given applicants for aid but also included the material contained in the case records of those agencies, on file in the office of the Bureau, sent in by the agencies and authorized for such use. Furthermore, the Bureau had "friendly visitors" or "agents" on its staff who could be sent out to gather facts when a search of the records deposited in its office failed to disclose the name of an applicant. "The information contained in the records," the Bureau considered was "at the command of all churches, charities, and individuals" who could show that they had a legitimate interest in it, and it was "given only in the strictest confidence."³

To aid in "minimizing fraud, imposition, unwise giving, and street begging," a "cautionary list" was kept and found to be "of great value in warning and shielding the public" and "turning into channels of meritorious charity, funds which would otherwise have been misdirected."⁴ Here, also, if no information was already in the Bureau's files, investigation would be made and the results given to the inquirer.

Two card indexes of the records deposited with it were maintained by the Bureau, a name index of the families, and a street index of their place of residence when coming to the attention of social agencies. The annual reports from 1894 to 1906 yield some informa-

¹ *Ibid.*

² *First Annual Report of the Chicago Bureau of Charities*, p. 4.

³ *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Associated Charities of the City of Chicago*, p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

tion as to the size that this registry attained. The number of families whose names appeared in the indexes rose from 28,000 in 1894 to 75,000 in 1906; the number added yearly advanced from 2,000 in 1895 to 9,200 in 1903.

By 1905, it will be recalled, the registration department of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society contained names of 160,000 families. Unquestionably the proportion of names which appeared alike in both departments of registration at any given time during which the two departments functioned was a considerable percentage of the total index. In fact, one of the highly desired objects in the consolidation of the two organizations into the United Charities in 1909 was the substitution of one registration division for two. The annual report of the Relief and Aid Society in 1904 shows a definite consciousness of the overlapping effort on the part of both agencies.

We are making a strong effort to reduce duplication to a minimum. It frequently happens that the same case comes to the attention of two or more societies at about the same time. This happens most often perhaps with this society and the Bureau of Charities. To carry out this policy we have adopted the plan of inquiring of the Bureau's registration office about each new case to learn whether a record is on file there. The Bureau on its part is responding to our invitation to consult our files. When the case is found to be already on record, an understanding is reached as to the best and speediest way of meeting the difficulty.¹

In short, registration in a single department by all agencies was seen to be the most efficacious and practical method of operating a clearing house service for social agencies.

THE INQUIRY DEPARTMENT

From 1899, a companion branch of service was being developed along with the registration department by the Chicago Bureau of Charities. This was designated the "Inquiry Department" and had to do not with individuals and families in need of help but with charitable organizations, schemes, and undertakings which appealed to the public for funds to carry out their philanthropic plans. The Bureau believed itself "peculiarly fitted" to estimate the standing and value of the various charities of the city because of the intimate relations

¹ *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society from October 31, 1903, to October 31, 1904*, pp. 11-12.

it bore toward them. "Its knowledge in this field" it placed "freely at the command of any person interested in a particular charity." With reference to the way in which the new department functioned, the annual report for 1899 goes on to say:

Its opinion in any case is based upon the object of the charity under consideration; the need of such a charity in the community; the sincerity with which its object is sought; the method of administration; the manner in which its funds are collected and accounted for and any other factors which should assist in determining the claim of an organization upon the generosity of the giving public. Many persons and business houses have adopted the policy of securing a report from the Bureau before contributing to any charity soliciting their support. This course enables them to give with the assurance that their contributions are wisely bestowed. The Bureau lays no claim to infallibility, but it always stands ready to give the reasons on which its opinions are based. This reporting service is freely offered to any responsible persons who desire to take advantage of it. In the year just ended about three hundred reports were issued.¹

Both departments were conducted by the Bureau in accordance with its desire to promote in every possible way "an active working co-operation among the organized and individual charitable forces of the city." It regarded itself as "not an intentional rival or competitor of any other charitable organization or force in the city." It conceived its purpose to be "to help every other proper charitable effort to greater success than it could achieve alone." This helpfulness took the form of "saving charitable impulses from wasting themselves in duplication or in attempting what they are not prepared to accomplish."²

After the inquiry department had been in operation four years, the secretary of the Bureau felt that the use which was made of it indicated that it met a genuine need in the community. Charitable men and women wishing to give wisely but unable to investigate the merits of the organizations which appealed to them for support found "in the Bureau's inquiry department a source of exactly such information as they required to enable them to give with discrimination." Charitable organizations and movements would become more

¹ *Fifth Annual Report of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, from November 1, 1898, to October 31, 1899*, p. 11.

² *Sixth and Seventh Annual Reports of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, 1899-1901*, p. 4.

efficient and be better supported "in proportion to the amount of public knowledge of, and interest in, them."¹

When the inquiry department had been in existence for a decade its work was evaluated as follows by the United Charities by whom this service as well as the registration department had been taken over.

A great deal might be written in regard to the work which the department has performed in suggesting changes in methods of conducting work, raising funds, or managing finances on the part of the organizations upon which reports are made. The stand taken by the Inquiry Department has tended to greatly discourage, perhaps almost eliminate, the operations of professional charity promoters who in times past purchased the use of the names of various organizations and conducted benefit entertainments which resulted oftentimes in much greater benefits to the entertainment promoters themselves than to the charity concerned. The department has had much to do with setting standards in the matter of raising funds for charitable purposes at a minimum expense. This influence extends not only to the matter of charity entertainments, but also to salaries and commissions to solicitors. . . .

Aside from the general influence which the Inquiry Department has had in raising standards of work and stimulating the adoption of more thorough methods of keeping records of work and finances, it has within the period covered by this report been directly instrumental in effecting changes in the specific cases of seven organizations, soliciting annually sums ranging from one to five thousand dollars.

The department has also furnished service as a general source of information to persons preparing to launch a new charitable work; also in furnishing lists of institutions or general information in regard to classes of institutions doing work in Chicago.²

To summarize briefly, the registration department of the Bureau of Charities performed other duties than does the present-day social service exchange. It not only was informed as to what social agencies knew specified individuals or families seeking assistance, but, through the case records filed by these social agencies in the Bureau's office, it could give out additional social information on request. Moreover, to deal with inquiries pertaining to individuals or families not yet listed by any agency in the index of the registration department, the Bureau maintained a staff of investigators who were sent

¹ *Ninth Annual Report of the Chicago Bureau of Charities for the Fiscal Year Ending May 31, 1903*, p. 15.

² *Report of the United Charities of Chicago, 1909-1910*, p. 39.

out to gather facts and determine the nature of the help which was demanded. If necessary, other agencies than the one inquiring would be called in by the Bureau to assist in such instances if the investigation warranted.

Associated closely with the registration department was the division known as the inquiry department, which had to do with collecting and dispensing information about the charitable agencies themselves. Through each department the Bureau aimed toward the prevention of fraud and duplication, the promotion of co-operation among charitable organizations, and the setting up of standards of treatment and of workmanship.

Later it will be seen what became of the functions which for a decade at least had been united in the work of the Bureau of Charities and which of them remains to the social service exchange of the present day.

THE CHANGES BEGUN IN 1909

Into the formation of the United Charities of Chicago in 1909 passed both the Chicago Relief and Aid Society and the Chicago Bureau of Charities. For a period following upon the union, all the duties of both organizations were performed by the United Charities. Then it was judged preferable to place the indorsement function of the inquiry department elsewhere and to make out of the combined registration departments a self-governing registration bureau which the United Charities along with other social agencies of the city would use, develop, and support.

Careful study and thought on the part of the United Charities preceded the relinquishment of the indorsement function and the adoption of the administrative change in relationship toward the registration department. An account of the events and negotiations leading up to the transfer of the inquiry department's task to the Subscriptions Investigating Committee of the Association of Commerce is found in the United Charities report for 1911 but need not be gone into here, where the main purpose is to retell the story of registration. Suffice it at this juncture to mention a point of contact that remains between the two departments. One requirement for the indorsement of charitable organizations in Chicago by the Subscriptions Investigating Committee has from the beginning been the

agreement "to co-operate with other charitable institutions in promoting efficiency and economy of administration in the charities of the city as a whole, and in preventing duplication of effort." Relief organizations must in addition register their cases with the Social Service Exchange.¹ The question of limiting the requirement specifying use of the Exchange to relief organizations will receive consideration later in connection with discussion of the nature of exchange service.

REGISTRATION, 1909-21

The officers of the United Charities, of course, were aware from the beginning of the value of the tool supplied by the registration department. Within the society itself, organized with eleven district offices, it at once became "necessary to have a complete central register of all its cases to prevent duplication of case work." At the same time the society entered upon "a serious effort to enlarge the scope" of the work of the registration department by "establishing a Central Bureau of Registration, confidential in character, to include the cases of all persons, societies, and institutions dealing with our dependent and delinquent citizens," holding that the organization of such a bureau was "primarily in the interest of" applicants for aid since it served "to prevent that exploitation of the poor which is one of the dangers of modern charity."² Then, too, evidently the societies using the registration bureau benefited by a saving of the time and effort of visitors who might otherwise make duplicate calls. The United Charities report for 1909-10 proceeds with an illustration of how use of the Bureau brings about this economy in time, effort, and investigation.

Let us illustrate how the Bureau will prevent waste of time through duplicated efforts. A pastor of a church calls up the Registration Bureau to learn if any agency is handling the family of Mark and Mary Wright. One of the clerks goes to the files and finds that on the 20th of the previous month the Juvenile Court was called in to straighten out a matter involving the delinquency of Mark's oldest son, John. The pastor is given the information and immediately gets into communication with the court officer handling the case. He learns the

¹ *A Classified List of Local Philanthropic and Charitable Organizations Believed by the Chicago Association of Commerce Subscriptions Investigating Committee to Be Worthy the Support of Those Who Desire to Further Their Aims*, 1926, p. 10.

² *Report of the United Charities of Chicago, 1909-1910*, p. 37.

family situation without having to put the family through a second questioning and together with the court officer he works out a program for the family that is successful because based on their combined knowledge of the family needs. Without the Bureau he might never have learned that the family could be better off if John worked instead of loafing, for it is the tendency of such families to withhold the names of their delinquents.

Suppose the Wright baby becomes dangerously ill and a friendly neighbor reports the fact to the Visiting Nurse Association. A nurse is sent and finds the baby in a cold room, with no money in the house to buy fuel or proper food. Her first impulse is to report the case to the relief society best known to her. If she does this, it means another visitor with other questions, before relief is given. Instead she calls up the Registration Bureau and learns that a certain pastor in the neighborhood knows the family and will undoubtedly give needed relief immediately.

The family's waning self-respect is conserved, the nurse's time saved, a third agency is not brought into the case needlessly, and the man best acquainted with the family addresses his efforts to the proper relief without delay. Such are the offices and possibilities of this department as we are endeavoring to administer it.¹

It should be noted here that the Central Bureau of Registration operates differently from the registration department of the Bureau of Charities. Other information besides the names of the agencies to which applicants are already known the inquirer secures direct from the workers in those agencies. Apparently registration has come to be limited to a service which no longer includes the consultation of case records filed with the registration department, nor the sending out of visitors to make investigations when applicants' names are not already on file. The card indexes of names and addresses with the record of the agencies to which each family or individual is known remain and are the basis and medium of the registration service.

Other duties still adhere to the Bureau of Registration, however. The report already cited states that "the Registration Department has of necessity become a bureau of general information." To this are referred "all inquiries regarding case work and out-of-town requests for transportation for dependent individuals or families" while into it and out from it every kind of exchange matter comes and goes "such as annual reports, reports on recent laws and ordinances, reports on special investigations of social conditions."

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

The conception of the purpose of registration shows a shift in emphasis. Its use is still viewed as a way of avoiding duplication among social agencies, but possible duplication is no longer thought of chiefly as duplication in treatment, for example, in the giving of relief. Rather does use of a registration bureau obviate duplicate effort in investigation and the understanding and diagnosis of need. The use of registration is seen to afford a more economical and speedy method of securing the necessary information, upon which intelligent action must be based, than does repeated original investigation through home visits by the representatives of first one society, then another. The side of the person in need of help, a side in danger of being overlooked, is also presented more thoughtfully and sympathetically. Use of the registration bureau results in a desirable economy from the standpoint of the applicant as well. To illustrate:

In a recent investigation made in behalf of underfed school children, a poor woman, tried beyond the limit of her control, shouted at a well-meaning visitor, "Get out of here, yous, or I will kill somebody. I'm crazy wid yer comin' 'round asking me questions." A Central Registration Bureau consulted by the various agencies to whom our friend's case was referred would have prevented the trial of her patience and the resulting belief that all we do is to go around pestering the poor with foolish questions. It would also have prevented a very considerable waste of time and effort on the part of visitors making duplicate calls.¹

In 1910, then, registration was already coming to be looked at primarily as a co-ordinating factor in community social service which promoted teamwork and co-operation among specialized social agencies for the purpose of giving better and more adequate service to families or individuals in need of help; secondarily, as a means of preventing duplicate effort among social agencies, relief or other; and, more remotely still, as an instrument for detecting and thwarting fraud and imposition. This readjustment of the values in the service came about largely during the period when Miss Helen Crittenden was in charge of registration and was, perhaps, mainly due to her interpretation of the possibilities in registration and her ability to communicate her vision to others and enlist their enthusiasm and support. In this period of the growth and development of Chicago's Social Service Exchange and the definition of the registration service in this community, 1909-21, hers was the chief influence.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

The Central Bureau of Registration established by the United Charities and extended to include other agencies in December, 1909, was used by "some twenty agencies dealing with the poor family as a unit or with fractional parts of it, as the child, the aged, the sick, or the delinquent member" during the year ending September 30, 1911. The number of organizations for the relief of distress among the less fortunate in Chicago had been steadily rising, and with it the need for co-operative effort grew apace. This multiplication of agencies was taking place within the specialized branches of social service also. Miss Crittenden, sensitive to the part which the registration bureau might play in co-ordinating the work of this increasing number of agencies and rendering their resources more nearly adequate to the existing demand for help and service, wrote as follows:

Special activities in behalf of children, the sick, the old, and the infirm, are everywhere springing into being. What provisions have we made that their work may prove an unqualified blessing to the poor whom they wish to serve? How are these societies to know when called upon for such help as they are organized to give, that they are not working at cross-purposes with some other society that is also trying to aid a given family? Those in distress are not apt to tell one charity worker that they are being visited by another—they believe they need all the help they can secure and that telling would drive away one source. They are not alone in their inability to realize the necessity of two agencies knowing whether they are working simultaneously but *not* together for the relief and up-building of a family in need. Over and over again, we hear people say: "Oh well, the poor need all the help they can get." True, indeed. It is not to deny the need, but to increase the benefits, that we are demanding some medium by which two agencies may know when they are interested in the same family situation.

We want the agencies to "get together," to pool their knowledge, their interest, and their ability to help, so that the family shall feel the strong impulse of their united efforts, and lend its co-operation to the plan for its restoration to normal living conditions. . . .

Dependency is a departure from the normal condition of family life, and it takes a definite course of treatment intelligently followed out by everyone on the case to assure a return to social health. It is not fair to the poor to treat them with a little material relief today, free sick care tomorrow, and legal advice next week. If the A family is in dire need of food as well as nursing care, because the bread winner has lost an arm in an unprotected machine, a United Charities visitor may have the family reported to her one day, the visiting nurse get a call about the same time, and the Legal Aid Society be asked by a family friend

to see the man's employer. There is no question as to the great need of several agencies taking a hand in such a situation, but can there be a possible question as to the need of concerted action on the part of these agencies?¹

It was felt that if social work was to go forward "vigorously and victoriously in Chicago, all its philanthropic agencies must become members" of the Central Registration Bureau. The twenty agencies registering in 1910-11 were to be invited to become jointly responsible with the United Charities "in the management and financial upkeep," so that the future growth of the Bureau might be shared by all who were to benefit by its service.² Accordingly, in July, 1912, "the Bureau became a self-governing body, organized under a constitution, with officers and an executive committee elected by the twenty-seven agencies" who by that date made up its membership.³

At the close of the third year after the Registration Bureau had been created by the union of the departments of registration in the two organizations amalgamated into the United Charities, the name index contained nearly 200,000 cards bearing identification information only, the catalogue to case records in the offices of the twenty-seven agencies who had registered with the Bureau during this period. In the year ending September 30, 1912, the Registration Bureau had received 73,780 inquiries from its membership and added 44,815 new names to its index. In the third year of the Bureau's activity, 39 per cent of the cases inquired about were already in the index; during the first ten months of the Bureau's activity but 15 per cent of the inquiries were found already registered.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REGISTRATION BUREAU, 1912-21

It will be profitable now briefly to comment on the development and use of the Bureau during the period 1912 to 1921, when the Bureau became a division under the Council of Social Agencies. In doing this, attention will be called to (1) the administration, (2) the physical equipment, (3) the functions exercised, (4) the sources and amounts of support, and (5) the membership.

¹ *Report of the United Charities of Chicago, 1910-1911*, pp. 43-44.

² *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³ *1913 Year Book of the United Charities of Chicago, for the year ending September 30, 1912*, p. 50.

Administration.—Under the new arrangement the Central Registration Bureau came to be known as the Social Service Registration Bureau. Under an Executive Committee, Miss Crittenden, as the chief administrative officer, continued to shape the work and policies. Helping her in the routine tasks of registration and searching the indexes in order to answer inquiries were a number of clerical assistants, added to from time to time as the growing volume of inquiries demanded.

On the first executive committee, chosen by the agencies belonging to the Bureau in 1912, five organizations—the United Charities, the Legal Aid Society, the Immigrants' Protective League, the Visiting Nurse Association, and the Central Howard Association—were represented. Three of the seven members on the committee were connected with the United Charities, which throughout this period bore the brunt of the Bureau's support and consistently strove to spread its service to new agencies.

Physical equipment.—Both indexes kept growing. The name index, arranged alphabetically by the surname and the given name of the father and the mother in a family, became especially unwieldy. The street index, containing a card for each address from which families were reported, increased less rapidly. Both indexes were kept upon small three by five inch cards, only the face of which was designed for use. Both were housed in files with single drawers each containing about 1,000 cards. As the index grew, the mechanics of searching became more difficult, the simple alphabetical filing system more unreliable and inadequate.

Function.—The function of the Bureau as of its immediate predecessor under the United Charities was limited to receiving identifying information about families or individuals together with the names of social agencies interested in these families or persons and the date when such interest began, and to giving in confidence to the authorized inquirer the information whether or not a name appeared in its files and, if so, to what social agencies its card showed the name was known.

Membership in the Bureau entitled an agency to make inquiry of it and to receive such information as resulted from the search of

the index. The agency in turn was tacitly obligated to make inquiry and register its interest in each of its cases.

Support.—Use of the Social Service Registration Bureau not infrequently meant economy in investigation, in visits, and in time for the agency making inquiry. It was a means of cutting down duplicate effort among agencies. The users of the Bureau were therefore justified in helping to support this joint service from which they benefited.

Willingness to assume the cost of the service, however, had of necessity to wait upon a demonstration of its worth and desirability. The Bureau's service became more valuable as the number of the agencies in its membership became more inclusive. A part of the Bureau's work in any year during this period was free educational demonstration with new agencies in order to bring them into membership.

Income from members never kept pace with expenditures for service in these years. Throughout the period, the United Charities regularly met the deficit which the Social Service Registration Bureau acquired annually. As the cost of the service grew with the increase in the volume of inquiries handled, the amount of the contributions by other users than the United Charities showed some advance but not so much change as took place in the contributions by the United Charities.

Gradually, however, the realization that a joint service should receive joint support grew stronger. The service performed by the Registration Bureau was seen to be no less a part of the work of an agency, to be maintained by the agency, because it could be more effectively and economically performed as a joint service centered in an office housed apart from the rest of the agency's activities.

Membership.—At the end of this period 126 agencies appear in the list of members as over against 27 at the beginning in July, 1912. Twenty-two were inactive in 1920-21, however, so far as use of the Bureau was concerned, which places the working membership at slightly over 100.

No formal statement of what was the basis of selection of members during 1912-21 has been discovered. It has been noted that the

registration of the cases handled was required of relief agencies before they would be indorsed by the Subscriptions Investigating Committee of the Association of Commerce. Case-working agencies of other types have appeared as steady users of the Registration Bureau since 1909, however. This period was essentially one of trial, demonstration, and discovery so far as registration was concerned. The differences in its usefulness to agencies of different types had to be ascertained by experiment; its limitations had to be learned by careful study and observation. While the possibilities of this new tool for co-ordinating social service activities were in some measure yet to be found out and tested, it would have been unwise to attempt to formulate membership requirements and hold rigidly to them. More important than anything else seems to have been bringing into at least temporary and voluntary contact with the registration bureau any social agency whatsoever as evidence of good will and the intention to co-operate with other agencies in Chicago. The turnover in the membership of the Bureau doubtless was increased by the subsequent falling out of agencies unable to fulfil the obligations which membership entailed, but the expression of good-will and the desire to work with other forces organized for social service in Chicago made by joining were more lasting. Extension of membership, in other words, was probably of paramount importance throughout the period under discussion. Without the protection and the financial aid which the Social Service Registration Bureau received from the United Charities at this time, it could have afforded to make little if any demonstration of the nature of its service to Chicago's social agencies.

ELIZABETH A. HUGHES

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SOURCE MATERIALS

AN EARLY ADVENTURE IN CHILD-PLACING

CHARLES LORING BRACE

EDITORIAL NOTE

THE experiment of placing New York City children in free homes, largely in rural areas, was begun seventy-five years ago by the Children's Aid Society, which had been organized a year earlier with a young minister, Charles Loring Brace,¹ as its first secretary at a salary of a thousand dollars a year. In 1852 Mr. Brace, then twenty-five years of age, had joined a city missionary who was working in the old "Five Points" district in New York. Later in that same year he helped to organize "Boys' Meetings" among the vagrant, neglected boys who were so numerous in New York City in the middle of the last century. It was early in the next year that he became secretary of the newly formed Children's Aid Society, which he called "a mission to the children." No attempt will be made here to review comprehensively or critically the varied work of Mr. Brace. An extract from his very important book is presented since it gives an interesting picture of an attempt at child-placing in the West by a New York organization before the Civil War.

It is important, however, to keep in mind the fact that the condition of the dependent and neglected children of New York City in the days when there was almost no social work, public or private, in their behalf has no parallel in our American cities today. Children then were not infrequently homeless, and Brace tells of seeing often

¹ The most interesting account of the work of Charles Loring Brace will be found in his own book, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work among Them* (New York, 1872). This book was widely read and will be still found in many libraries, although it was published nearly sixty years ago. A biography, *The Life of Charles Loring Brace Chiefly Told in His Own Letters*, edited by his daughter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), is also conveniently available. For a useful brief account of Brace's work, see also *The Children's Aid Society of New York, Its History, Plan and Results* (New York, 1893).

a dozen small boys piled together to keep warm under the stairs of printing offices. Two little boys slept one winter in the iron tube of the Harlem Bridge.

The *Dangerous Classes of New York* gives a vivid picture of the homeless boys, street-wandering girls, young "city Arabs," and "street rats" who had been bred in the old "fever nests" and "dens of crime." He knew so many children who "slept anywhere and lived by petty pilferings from the iron works and woodyards and by street jobs." He thought their life was a "painfully hard one. To sleep in boxes, or under stairways, or in hay-barges on the coldest winter nights, for a mere child, was hard enough; but often to have no food, to be kicked and cuffed by the older ruffians, and shoved about by the police, standing barefooted and in rags under doorways as the winter storm raged, and to know that in all the great city there was not a single door open with welcome to the little rover—this was harder."

"Most touching of all," he wrote, in describing the early days of the new Children's Aid Society, "was the crowd of wandering little ones who immediately found their way to the office. Ragged young girls who had nowhere to lay their heads; children driven from drunkards' homes; orphans who slept where they could find a box or a stairway; boys cast out by step-mothers or step-fathers; newsboys, whose incessant answer to our question, 'Where do you live?' rang in our ears, 'Don't live nowhere!'; little bootblacks, young peddlers, 'canawl-boys,' who seem to drift into the city every winter, and live a vagabond life; pickpockets and petty thieves trying to get honest work; child beggars and flower-sellers growing up to enter courses of crime—all this motley throng of infantile misery and childish guilt passed through our doors."

Before the days of free and compulsory schools, when the "Fourth Ward Industrial School" was opened by the Society, he tells of going about through the slums in the vicinity of the school to "let it be widely known that a school to teach work, and where food was given daily, and clothes were bestowed to the well-behaved was just forming." The schoolroom was in the basement of a church in Roosevelt Street, where there gathered in December, 1853, the volunteer ladies and "a flock of the most ill-clad and wildest little

street-girls that could be collected anywhere in New York." His account of the school gives another vivid contrast between the neglected children of 1850 and those of our own day. The little girls who had been persuaded to come to school were entirely new to the experience. "They flew over the benches, they swore and fought with one another, they bandied vile language, and could hardly be tamed down sufficiently to allow the school to be opened. Few had shoes, all were bonnetless, their dresses were torn, ragged, and dirty; their hair tangled, and faces long unwashed; they had, many of them, a singularly wild and intense expression of eye and feature, as of half-tamed creatures, with passions aroused beyond their years." He tells of one, a little homeless girl, who used to float about the quarter near East Thirty-second Street because her drunken mother "had thrown her out of doors, and she used to sleep under stairways or in deserted cellars, and was a most wretched, half-starved little creature." Mr. Brace said that he talked with her often "but could not induce her to go to school or to seek a home in the country," and at that time there was, of course, no juvenile court with the necessary authority to protect such a child. He wrote that he often walked the narrow lanes of the quarter to watch the ragged, wild children flitting about; or he visited "the damp underground basements which every high tide flooded, crowded with men, women and children; or climbed to the old rookeries, packed to the smallest attic with a wretched population."

It is not surprising that the eager imagination of the young minister saw the great West as a vast and spacious home for the vagrant children of the metropolis. "Our hope in this matter," he wrote, "is in the steady demand for juvenile labor in the country districts and the substantial rewards which await industry there." The plan appealed to practical men. New York had "a large multitude of children" who were young outcasts destined to become the criminals of the future. The western states, of which the good minister and directors of the new Society knew very little, seemed to them full of kindly homes that would provide for the poor children of New York. Mr. Brace thought that the western farms needed labor, and it did not occur to him to question the desirability of transporting the children to meet this need. "The readiness on

the part of farmers to receive these children was at once evident. An announcement, by circulars through the city weeklies and rural papers, of the intention of supplying children, brought a speedy response in the form of hundreds of applications from farmers and mechanics."

The first western party started for Michigan from the New York Office of the Children's Aid Society in the fall of 1854. It is typical of the time that the agent was not a professional social worker but a minister, Rev. E. P. Smith. Mr. Brace saw himself "draining the city" of its neglected and ignorant children who were on the threshold of criminal careers.

Statistics published in 1893 showed that the Society had sent more than 50,000 boys and girls out of New York. The following states had received 500 or more children: Colorado, 739; Connecticut, 1,159; Illinois, 7,366; Indiana, 3,782; Iowa, 4,852; Kansas, 3,310; Massachusetts, 876; Michigan, 2,900; Minnesota, 2,448; Missouri, 4,835; Nebraska, 2,343; New Jersey, 4,149; Ohio, 4,418; Pennsylvania, 1,839; Virginia, 1,448; Wisconsin, 2,135.

The work of child-placing agencies has greatly developed in the seventy-five years since Charles Loring Brace sent his first "emigration party" from New York to Michigan. But he was a great pioneer who had courage and faith, enthusiasm and tireless energy. The fact that he was only twenty-eight years old when he sent his first group of children west is one of the astonishing things about his work.¹

Louisa Lee Schuyler, writing shortly after his death, said:

His genius solved the problem which had baffled the philanthropists of preceding centuries. He saw that home life, and not institution life, was needed for children, and so he set himself to finding homes for homeless children. It seems so simple to us now, now that we know all about it; but it required his penetration, his genius, to reveal to us what is self-evident when once our eyes are opened.

The first circular issued by the New York Children's Aid Society in March, 1853, is of great interest, and we reprint it here.

¹ We have published as a frontispiece for this number a portrait of Mr. Brace during the early years when so many of his experiments were getting under way.

First Circular of the Children's Aid Society (1853)¹

To the Public: This society has taken its origin in the deeply settled feeling of our citizens, that something must be done to meet the increasing crime and poverty among the destitute children of New York. Its objects are to help this class, by opening Sunday meetings and industrial schools, and gradually, as means shall be furnished, by forming lodging-houses and reading-rooms for children, and by employing paid agents, whose sole business shall be to care for them.

As Christian men, we cannot look upon this great multitude of unhappy, deserted, and degraded boys and girls without feeling our responsibility to God for them. We remember that they have the same capacities, the same need of kind and good influences, and the same immortality, as the little ones in our own homes. We bear in mind that One died for them, even as for the children of the rich and the happy. Thus far, almshouses and prisons have done little to affect the evil. But a small part of the vagrant population can be shut up in our asylums; and judges and magistrates are reluctant to convict children, so young and ignorant that they hardly seem able to distinguish good and evil. The class increases. Immigration is pouring in its multitudes of poor foreigners, who leave these young outcasts everywhere abandoned in our midst. For the most part, the boys grow up utterly by themselves. No one cares for them, and they care for no one. Some live by begging, by petty pilferings, by bold robbery. Some earn an honest support by peddling matches, or apples, or newspapers. Others gather bones and rags in the street to sell. They sleep on steps, in cellars, in old barns, and in markets; they hire a bed in filthy and low lodging-houses. They cannot read. They do not go to school or attend a church. Many of them have never seen the Bible. Every cunning faculty is intensely stimulated. They are shrewd and old in vice when other children are in leading-strings. Few influences which are kind and good ever reach the vagrant boy. And yet, among themselves, they show generous and honest traits. Kindness can always touch them.

The *girls*, too often, grow up even more pitiable and deserted. Till of late, no one has ever cared for them. They are the cross-walk sweepers, the little apple-peddlers and candy-sellers of our city; or by more questionable means they earn their scanty bread. They traverse the low, vile

¹ Extract from *The Life of Charles Loring Brace Chiefly Told in His Own Letters*, edited by his daughter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), pp. 489-92.

streets alone, and live without mother or friends, or any share in what we should call *home*. They, also, know little of God or Christ, except by name. They grow up passionate, ungoverned; with no love or kindness ever to soften the heart. We all know their short, wild life, and the sad end. These boys and girls, it should be remembered, will soon form the great lower class of our city. They will influence elections; they may shape the policy of the city; they will, assuredly, if unreclaimed, poison society all around them. They will help to form the great multitude of robbers, thieves, and vagrants who are now such a burden upon the law-respecting community. In one ward alone of the city, the eleventh, there were in 1852, out of 12,000 children between the ages of five and sixteen, only 7,000 who attended school, and only 2,500 who went to Sabbath-school, leaving 5,000 without the common privileges of education and about 9,000 destitute of public religious influence.

In view of these evils, we have formed an association which shall devote itself entirely to this class of vagrant children. We do not propose in any way to conflict with existing asylums and institutions, but to render them a hearty co-operation, and at the same time to fill a gap, which, of necessity, they have all left. A large multitude of children live in the city who cannot be placed in asylums, and yet who are uncared for and ignorant and vagrant. We propose to give to these work, and to bring them under religious influences. A central office has been taken, and an agent, Charles L. Brace, has been engaged to give his whole time to efforts for relieving the wants of this class. As means shall come in, it is designed to district the city, so that hereafter every ward may have its agent, who shall be a friend to the vagrant child. "Boys' Sunday Meetings" have already been formed, which we hope to see extended, until every quarter has its place of preaching to boys. With these, we intend to connect "Industrial Schools," where the great temptations to this class, arising from *want of work*, may be removed, and where they can learn an honest trade. Arrangements have been made with manufacturers, by which, if we have the requisite funds to begin, *five hundred boys* in different localities can be supplied with paying work. We hope, too, especially to be the means of draining the city of these children, by communicating with farmers, manufacturers, or families in the country, who may have need of such for employment. When homeless boys are found by our agents, we mean to get them homes in the families of respectable persons in the city, and to put them in the way of an honest living. We design, in a word, to bring humane and kindly influences to bear on this forsaken

class—to preach in various modes the Gospel of Christ to the vagrant children of New York.

Numbers of our citizens have long felt the evils we would remedy, but few have the leisure or the means to devote themselves personally to this work, with the thoroughness which it requires. This society, as we propose, shall be a medium through which all can, in their measure, practically help the poor children of the city. We call upon all who recognize that these are the little ones of Christ; all who believe that crime is best averted by sowing good influences in childhood; all who are the friends of the helpless, to aid us in our enterprise. We confidently hope this wide and practical movement will have its share of Christian liberality. And we earnestly ask the contributions of those able to give, to help us in carrying forward the work.

March, 1853

Trustees	B. J. HOWLAND	J. S. PHELPS, M.D.
	JOHN L. MASON	JAMES A. BURTUS
	WM. C. GILMAN	MOSES G. LEONARD
	WM. L. KING	WM. C. RUSSELL
	CHARLES W. ELLIOTT	J. EARL WILLIAMS
	AUGUSTINE EATON	A. D. F. RANDOLPH
		Secretary, CHARLES L. BRACE

The First Party of Children Sent West by the New York Children's Aid Society¹

Though without a home the homeless lads and girls were often not legally vagrant—that is, they had some ostensible occupation, some street-trade—and no judge would commit them, unless a very flagrant case of vagrancy was made against them. They were unwilling to be sent to Asylums, and, indeed, were so numerous that all the Asylums of the State could not contain them. Moreover, their care and charge in public institutions would have entailed expenses on the city so heavy, that tax-payers would not have consented to the burden.

The workers, also, in this movement felt from the beginning that "asylum-life" is not the best training for outcast children in preparing them for practical life. In large buildings, where a multitude of children are gathered together, the bad corrupt the good, and the good are not

¹ Extract from Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years' Work among Them* (New York, 1872), pp. 224-66.

educated in the virtues of real life. The machinery, too, which is so necessary in such large institutions, unfits a poor boy or girl for practical handwork.

The founders of the Children's Aid Society early saw that the best of all Asylums for the outcast child, is the *farmer's home*.

The United States have the enormous advantage over all other countries, in the treatment of difficult questions of pauperism and reform, that they possess a practically unlimited area of arable land. The demand for labor on this land is beyond any present supply. Moreover, the cultivators of the soil are in America our most solid and intelligent class. From the nature of their circumstances, their laborers, or "help," must be members of their families, and share in their social tone. It is, accordingly, of the utmost importance to them to train up children who shall aid in their work, and be associates of their own children. A servant who is nothing but a servant, would be, with them, disagreeable and inconvenient. They like to educate their own "help." With their overflowing supply of food also, each new mouth in the household brings no drain on their means. Children are a blessing, and the mere feeding of a young boy or girl is not considered at all.

With this fortunate state of things, it was but a natural inference that the important movement now inaugurating for the benefit of the unfortunate children of New York should at once strike upon a plan of emigration.

Simple and most effective as this ingenious scheme now seems—which has accomplished more in relieving New York of youthful crime and misery than all other charities together—at the outset it seemed difficult and perplexing. . . .

Among other objections, it was feared that the farmers would not want the children for help; that, if they took them, the latter would be liable to ill-treatment, or, if well-treated, would corrupt the virtuous children around them, and thus New York would be scattering seeds of vice and corruption all over the land. Accidents might occur to the unhappy little ones thus sent, bringing odium on the benevolent persons who were dispatching them to the country. How were places to be found? How were the demand and supply for children's labor to be selected? And, when the children were placed, how were their interests to be watched over, and acts of oppression or hard dealing prevented or punished? Were they to be indentured, or not? If this was the right scheme, why had it not been tried long ago in our cities or in England?

These and innumerable similar difficulties and objections were offered to this projected plan of relieving the city of its youthful pauperism and suffering. They all fell to the ground before the confident efforts to carry out a well-laid scheme; and practical experience has justified none of them.

To awaken the demand for these children, circulars were sent out through the city weeklies and the rural papers to the country districts. Hundreds of applications poured in at once from the farmers and mechanics all through the Union. At first, we made the effort to meet individual applications by sending the kind of children wanted; but this soon became impracticable.

Each applicant or employer always called for "a perfect child," without any of the taints of earthly depravity. The girls must be pretty, good-tempered, not given to purloining sweetmeats, and fond of making fires at daylight, and with a constitutional love for Sunday Schools and Bible-lessons. The boys must be well made, of good stock, never disposed to steal apples or pelt cattle, using language of perfect propriety, and delighting in family-worship and prayer-meetings more than in fishing or skating parties. These demands, of course, were not always successfully complied with. Moreover, to those who desired the children of "blue eyes, fair hair, and blond complexion," we were sure to send the dark-eyed and brunette; and the particular virtues wished for were very often precisely those that the child was deficient in. It was evidently altogether too much of a lottery for bereaved parents or benevolent employers to receive children in that way. . . .

Having found the defects of our first plan of emigration, we soon inaugurated another, which has since been followed out successfully during nearly twenty years of constant action.

We formed little companies of emigrants, and, after thoroughly cleaning and clothing them, put them under a competent agent, and first selecting a village where there was a call or opening for such a party, we dispatched them to the place.

The farming community having been duly notified, there was usually a dense crowd of people at the station, awaiting the arrival of the youthful travelers. The sight of the little company of the children of misfortune always touched the hearts of a population naturally generous. They were soon billeted around among the citizens, and the following day a public meeting was called in the church or town hall, and a committee appointed of leading citizens. The agent then addressed the assembly, stating the benevolent objects of the Society, and something of the history of the

children. The sight of their worn faces was a most pathetic enforcement of his arguments. People who were childless came forward to adopt children; others, who had not intended to take any into their families, were induced to apply for them; and many who really wanted the children's labor pressed forward to obtain it.

In every American community, especially a Western one, there are many spare places at the table of life. There is no harassing "struggle for existence." They have enough for themselves and the stranger too. Not, perhaps, thinking of it before, yet, the orphan being placed in their presence without friends or home, they gladly welcome and train him. The committee decide on the applications. Sometimes there is almost a case for Solomon before them. Two eager mothers without children claim some little waif thus cast on the strand before them. Sometimes the family which has taken in a fine lad for the night feels that it cannot do without him, and yet the committee prefer a better home for him. And so hours of discussion and selection pass. Those who are able, pay the fares of the children, or otherwise make some gift to the Society, until at length the business of charity is finished, and a little band of young wayfarers and homeless rovers in the world find themselves in comfortable and kind homes, with all the boundless advantages and opportunities of the Western farmer's life about them. . . .

OUR FIRST EMIGRANT PARTY¹ (1854) (FROM OUR JOURNAL)

BY A VISITOR

On Wednesday evening, with emigrant² tickets to Detroit, we started on the "Isaac Newton" for Albany. Nine of our company, who missed the boat, were sent up by the morning cars, and joined us in Albany, making forty-six boys and girls from New York, bound westward, and, to them, homeward. They were between the ages of seven and fifteen—most of them from ten to twelve. The majority of them orphans, dressed in uniform—as bright, sharp, bold, racy a crowd of little fellows as can be grown nowhere out of the streets of New York. The other ten were from New York at large—no number or street in particular. Two of these had slept in nearly all the station-houses in the city. One, a keen-eyed American boy, was born in Chicago—an orphan now, and abandoned in New York by an intemperate brother. Another, a little German Jew, who had been entirely friendless for four years, and had finally found his way into the Newsboys' Lodging-house. Dick and Jack were brothers of Sarah O——, whom

¹[This section is transposed from the place where it appears in the book in order to make the entire account more nearly consecutive.]

²[A footnote in the original explains that after this first experience, the children were always sent by regular trains, in decent style.]

we sent to Connecticut. Their father is intemperate; mother died at Bellevue Hospital three weeks since; and an older brother has just been sentenced to Sing Sing Prison. Their father, a very sensible man when sober, begged me to take the boys along, "for I am sure, sir, if left in New York, they will come to the same bad end as their brother." We took them to a shoe-shop. Little Jack made awkward work in trying on a pair. "He don't know them, sir; there's not been a cover to his feet for three winters."

Another of the ten, whom the boys call "Liverpool," defies description. Mr. Gerry found him in the Fourth Ward, a few hours before we left. Really only twelve years old, but in dress, a seedy loafer of forty. His boots and coat and pants would have held two such boys easily—filthy and ragged to the last thread. Under Mr. Tracy's hands, at the Lodging-house, "Liverpool" was soon remodeled into a boy again; and when he came on board the boat with his new suit, I did not know him. His story interested us all, and was told with a quiet, sad reserve, that made us believe him truthful. A friendless orphan in the streets of Liverpool, he heard of America, and determined to come, and after long search found a captain who shipped him as cabin-boy. Landed in New York, "Liverpool" found his street condition somewhat bettered. Here he got occasional odd jobs about the docks, found a pretty tight box to sleep in, and now and then the sailors gave him a cast-off garment, which he wrapped and tied about him, till he looked like a walking rag bundle when Mr. G. found him.

As we steamed off from the wharf, the boys gave three cheers for New York, and three more for "Michigan." All seemed as careless at leaving home forever, as if they were on a target excursion to Hoboken.

We had a steerage passage, and after the cracker-box and ginger bread had passed around, the boys sat down in the gang-way and began to sing. Their full chorus attracted the attention of the passengers, who gathered about, and soon the captain sent for us to come to the upper saloon. There the boys sang and talked, each one telling his own story separately, as he was taken aside, till ten o'clock, when Captain S. gave them all berths in the cabin; meanwhile, a lady from Rochester had selected a little boy for her sister, and Mr. B., a merchant from Illinois, had made arrangements to take "Liverpool" for his store. I afterwards met Mr. B. in Buffalo, and he said he would not part with the boy for any consideration; and I thought then that to take such a boy from such a condition, and put him into such hands, was worth the whole trip.

At Albany we found the emigrant train did not go out till noon, and it became a question what to do with the children for the intervening six hours. There was danger that Albany street-boys might entice them off, or that some might be tired of the journey, and hide away, in order to return. When they were gathered on the wharf, we told them that *we* were going to Michigan, and if any of them would like to go along, they must be on hand for the cars. This was enough. They hardly ventured out of sight. The Albany boys tried hard to coax some of them away; but ours turned the tables upon them, told them of Michigan, and when we were about ready to start, several of them came up

bringing a stranger with them. There was no mistaking the long, thick, matted hair, unwashed face, the badger coat, and double pants flowing in the wind—a regular “snoozer.”

“Here’s a boy what wants to go to Michigan, sir; can’t you take him with us?”

“But, do you know him? Can you recommend him as a suitable boy to belong to our company!” No; they didn’t know his name even. “Only he’s as hard up as any of us. He’s no father or mother, and nobody to live with, and he sleeps out o’ nights.” The boy pleads for himself. He would like to go and be a farmer—and to live in the country—will go anywhere I send him—and do well if he can have the chance.

Our number is full—purse scant—it may be difficult to find him a home. But there is no resisting the appeal of the boys, and the importunate face of the young vagrant. Perhaps he will do well; at any rate, we must try him. If left to float here a few months longer, his end is certain. “Do you think I can go, sir?” “Yes, John, if you will have your face washed and hair combed within half an hour.” Under a brisk scrubbing, his face lights up several shades; but the twisted, tangled hair, matted for years, will not yield to any amount of washing and pulling—barbers’ shears are the only remedy.

So a new volunteer is added to our regiment. Here is his enrollment:

“John——, American—Protestant—13 years—Orphan—Parents died in R——, Maine—A ‘snoozer’ for four years—Most of the time in New York, with an occasional visit to Albany and Troy, ‘when times go hard’—Intelligent—Black, sharp eye—Hopeful.”

As we marched, two deep, round the State House to the depot, John received many a recognition from the “outsiders,” among whom he seems to be a general favorite, and they call out after him, “Goodby, Smack,” with a half-sad, half-sly nod, as if in doubt whether he was playing some new game, or were really going to leave them and try an honest life.

At the depot we worked our way through the Babel of at least one thousand Germans, Irish, Italians, and Norwegians, with whom nothing goes right; every one insists that he is in the wrong car—that his baggage has received the wrong mark—that Chicago is in this direction, and the cars are on the wrong track; in short, they are agreed upon nothing except in the opinion that this is a “bad country, and it’s good luck to the soul who sees the end on’t.” The conductor, a red-faced, middle-aged man, promises to give us a separate car; but, while he whispers and negotiates with two Dutch girls, who are traveling without a protector, the motley mass rush into the cars, and we are finally pushed into one already full—some standing, a part sitting in laps, and some on the floor under the benches—crowded to suffocation, in a freight-car without windows—rough benches for seats, and no back—no ventilation except through the sliding-doors, where the little chaps are in constant danger of falling through. There were scenes that afternoon and night which it would not do to reveal.

Irishmen passed around bad whisky and sang bawdy songs; Dutch men and women smoked and sang, and grunted and cursed. . . .

Night came on, and we were told that "passengers furnish their own lights!" For this we were unprepared, and so we tried to endure darkness which never before seemed half so thick as in that stifled car, though it was relieved here and there for a few minutes by a lighted pipe. One Dutchman in the corner kept up a constant fire; and when we told him we were choking with smoke, he only answered with a complacent grunt and a fresh supply of the weed. The fellow seemed to puff when he was fairly asleep, and the curls were lifting beautifully above the bowl, when smash against the car went the pipe in a dozen pieces! No one knew the cause, except perhaps, the boy behind me, who had begged an apple a few minutes before.

At Utica we dropped our fellow-passenger from Germany, and, thus partially relieved, spent the rest of the night in tolerable comfort.

In the morning we were in the vicinity of Rochester, and you can hardly imagine the delight of the children as they looked, many of them for the first time, upon country scenery. Each one must see everything we passed, find its name, and make his own comments. "What's that, mister?" "A cornfield." "Oh, yes; them's what makes buckwheaters." "Look at them cows [oxen plowing]; my mother used to milk cows." As we whirled through orchards loaded with large, red apples, their enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch. It was difficult to keep them within doors. Arms stretched out, hats swinging, eyes swimming, mouths watering, and all screaming—"Oh! oh! just look at 'em! Mister, be they any sich in Michigan? Then I'm in for *that* place—three cheers for Michigan!" We had been riding in comparative quiet for nearly an hour, when all at once the greatest excitement broke out. We were passing a cornfield spread over with ripe yellow pumpkins. "Oh! yonder! look! Just look at 'em!"—and in an instant the same exclamation was echoed from forty-seven mouths. "Jist look at 'em! What a heap of *mushmillions*!" "Mister, do they make *mushmillions* in Michigan?" "Ah, fellers, *ain't* that the country though!—won't we have nice things to eat?" "Yes, and won't we *sell* some, too?" "Hip! hip! boys; three cheers for Michigan!"

At Buffalo we received great kindness from the freight-agent, and this was by no means his first service to the Children's Aid Society. Several boys and girls whom we have sent West have received the kindest attention at his hands. . . . Also, the agent for the Michigan Central Rail Road gave me a letter of introduction, which was of great service on the way.

We were in Buffalo nine hours, and the boys had the liberty of the town, but were all on board the boat in season. We went down to our place, the steerage cabin, and no one but an emigrant on a lake-boat can understand the night we spent. The berths were covered with a coarse mattress, used by a thousand different passengers, and never changed till they are filled with stench and vermin. The emigrants spend the night in washing, smoking, drinking, singing,

sleep, and licentiousness. It was the last night in the freight-car repeated, with the addition of a touch of sea-sickness, and of the stamping, neighing, and cleating of a hundred horses and sheep over our heads, and the effluvia of their filth pouring through the open gangway. But we survived the night; *how* had better not be detailed. In the morning we got outside upon the boxes, and enjoyed the beautiful day. The boys were in good spirits, sang songs, told New York yarns, and made friends generally among the passengers. Occasionally, some one more knowing than wise would attempt to poke fun at them, whereupon the boys would "pitch in," and open such a sluice of Bowery slang as made Mr. Would-be-funny beat a retreat in double-quick time. No one attempted that game twice. During the day the clerk discovered that three baskets of peaches were missing, all except the baskets. None of the boys had been detected with the fruit, but I afterwards found they had eaten it.

Landed in Detroit at ten o'clock, Saturday night, and took a first-class passenger car on Michigan Central Rail Road and reached D—c, a "smart little town," in southwest Michigan, three o'clock Sunday morning. The depot-master, who seldom receives more than three passengers from a train, was utterly confounded at the crowd of little ones poured out upon the platform, and at first refused to let us stay till morning; but, after a deal of explanation, he consented, with apparent misgiving, and the boys spread themselves on the floor to sleep. At day-break they began to inquire, "Where be we?" and, finding that they were really in Michigan, scattered in all directions, each one for himself, and in less than five minutes there was not a boy in sight of the depot. When I had negotiated for our stay at the American House and had breakfast nearly ready, they began to straggle back from every quarter, each boy loaded down—caps, shoes, coat-sleeves, and shirts full of every green thing they could lay hands upon—apples, ears of corn, peaches, pieces of pumpkins, etc. "Look at the Michigan filberts!" cried a little fellow, running up, holding with both hands upon his shirt bosom, which were bursting out with *acorns*. Little Mag (and she is one of the prettiest, sweetest little things you ever set eyes upon), brought in a "nosegay," which she insisted upon sticking in my coat—a mullen-stock and corn-leaf, twisted with grass!

Several of the boys had had a swim in the creek, though it was a pretty cold morning. At the breakfast table the question was discussed, how we should spend the Sabbath. The boys evidently wanted to continue their explorations; but when asked if it would not be best to go to church, there were no hands down, and some proposed to go to Sunday School, and "boys" meeting, too.

The children had clean and happy faces, but no change of clothes, and those they wore were badly soiled and torn by the emigrant passage. You can imagine the appearance of our "ragged regiment," as we filed into the Presbyterian church (which, by the way, was a school-house), and appropriated our full share of the seats. The "natives" could not be satisfied with staring, as they came to the door and filled up the vacant part of the house. The pastor was late, and we

"occupied the time" in singing. Those sweet Sabbath School songs never sounded so sweetly before. Their favorite hymn was, "Come, ye sinners, poor and needy," and they rolled it out with a relish. It was a touching sight, and pocket handkerchiefs were used quite freely among the audience.

At the close of the sermon the people were informed of the object of the Children's Aid Society. It met with the cordial approbation of all present, and several promised to take children. I was announced to preach in the afternoon; but, on returning to the tavern, I found that my smallest boy had been missing since day-break, and that he was last seen upon the high bridge over the creek, a little out of the village. So we spent the afternoon in hunting, instead of going to church. (Not an uncommon practice here, by the way.)

We dove in the creek and searched the woods, but little George (six years old) was not to be found; and when the boys came home to supper there was a shade of sadness on their faces, and they spoke in softer tones of the lost playmate. But the saddest was George's brother, one year older. They were two orphans—all alone in the world. Peter stood up at the table, but when he saw his brother's place at his side vacant, he burst out in uncontrollable sobbing. After supper he seemed to forget his loss, till he lay down on the floor at night, and there was the vacant spot again, and his little heart flowed over with grief. Just so again when he awoke in the morning, and at breakfast and dinner.

Monday morning the boys held themselves in readiness to receive applications from the farmers. They would watch at all directions, scanning closely every wagon that came in sight, and deciding from the appearance of the driver and the horses more often from the latter, whether they "would go in for *that* farmer."

There seems to be a general dearth of boys, and still greater of girls, in all this section, and before night I had applications for fifteen of my children, the applicants bringing recommendations from their pastor and the justice of peace.

There was a rivalry among the boys to see which first could get a home in the country, and before Saturday they were all gone. Rev. Mr. O. took several home with him; and nine of the smallest I accompanied to Chicago, and sent to Mr. Townsend, Iowa City. Nearly all the others found homes in Cass County, and I had a dozen applications for more. A few of the boys are bound to trades, but the most insisted upon being farmers, and learning to drive horses. They are to receive a good common-school education, and one hundred dollars when twenty-one. I have great hopes for the majority of them. "Mag" is adopted by a wealthy Christian farmer. "Smack," the privateer from Albany, has a good home in a Quaker settlement. The two brothers, Dick and Jack, were taken by an excellent man and his son, living on adjacent farms. The German boy from the "Lodging-house" lives with a physician in D—.

Several boys came in to see me, and tell their experience in learning to farm. One of them was sure he knew how to milk, and being furnished with a pail, was told to take his choice of the cows in the yard. He sprang for a two-year-old

steer, caught him by the horns, and called for a "line to make him fast." None seemed discontented but one, who ran away from a tinner, because he wanted to be a farmer.

But I must tell you of the lost boy. No tidings were heard of him up to Monday noon, when the citizens rallied and scoured the woods for miles around; but the search was fruitless, and Peter lay down that night sobbing, and with his arms stretched out, just as used to throw them around his brother.

About ten o'clock a man knocked at the door, and cried out. "Here is the lost boy!" Peter heard him, and the two brothers met on the stairs, and before we could ask where he had been, Peter had George in his place by his side on the floor. They have gone to live together in Iowa.

On the whole, the first experiment of sending children West is a very happy one, and I am sure there are places enough with good families in Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, to give every poor boy and girl in New York a permanent home. The only difficulty is to bring the children to the homes.

A LATER PARTY TO THE WEST

January, 1868

DEAR SIR: It will, perhaps, be interesting for you to know some facts connected with the disposal of my party at the West. We numbered thirty-two in all: two babies—one a fine little fellow one year old, and the other twenty-one years old, but nevertheless, the greatest babe in the company. Just before I reached Chicago, I was surprised to find that my party numbered only about twenty, instead of thirty-two. I went into the forward car. You may imagine my surprise to find my large babe, W— D—, playing upon a concertina, and M— H—, alias M— B—, footing it down as only a clog dancer, and one well acquainted with his business at that, could do, while eight or ten boys, and perhaps as many brakesmen and baggagemen, stood looking on, evidently greatly amused. It was plain to see that I was an unwelcome visitor. Order was at once restored, and the boys went back and took their seats. As we neared A—, a gentleman by the name of L— came to me, and, after making some inquiries, said: "I wish you would let me take that boy," pointing to G— A—, a little fellow about eight years old. I told him we never allowed a child to go to a home from the train, as we had a committee appointed in A—, to whom application must be made. I promised, however, that I would keep the boy for him until Monday and if he came, bringing satisfactory recommendations, he should have him. He said if money was any inducement, he would give me twenty-five dollars if I would let him have the boy. I said five thousand dollars would not be an inducement without the recommendations. The little fellow was really the most remarkable child I ever saw, so amiable and intelligent, and yet so good looking. When I reached A—, I had not been out of the cars five minutes when a gentleman went to G—, and placing his hand on his shoulder, said, "This is the little man I want." I told him he had been engaged already. We passed through the crowd at the depot, and finally reached

the hotel. We had been there but a short time when I had another application for G—. The first applicant came up also, and asserted his claim; said that, if L— did not come and get the boy, he had the first right to him. L— did not come, and I had some difficulty to settle the matter between the two applicants. Didn't know but I should have to resort to Solomon's plan, and divide the boy, but determined to let him go to the best home.

Matters went off very pleasantly the first day. I found *good* homes for some ten or twelve boys; but, in the evening, I missed the boys from the hotel, and, in looking for them, was attracted to a saloon by the dulcet tones of my babe's concertina, and entered. D— was playing, and two of the boys were delighting the audience with a comic Irish song. All the rowdies and rum-drinkers in the town seemed to have turned out to meet them. I stepped inside of the door, and, with arms folded, stood looking very intently at them, without uttering a word. First the music ceased, then the singing, and one by one the boys slunk out of the room, until I was left alone with the rabble. It was rather amusing to hear their exclamations of surprise. "Halloo! what's up?" "What's broke loose now?" I went to the hotel, found the boys there, and a more humble set I never saw. I gave them a lecture about a yard long, and professed to feel very much hurt at the idea of finding a boy who came out with me, in a rum-shop. I gave them to understand what I should expect of them in future, and ended by having the door opened and extending an invitation to leave to those boys who thought they could do better for themselves than I should do for them. As no disposition to leave manifested itself, I then put the question to vote whether they would remain with me and do just as I wished, or go and look out for themselves. Every hand went up, and some of the boys expressed themselves very sorry for what they had done. W— D— left a day or two after, taking the concertina with him, which I afterward learned belonged to another boy. The most of my trouble seemed to take wing and fly away with him. He was the scapegoat of the party.

Illinois is a beautiful farming country. All the farmers seem to be wealthy. The large boys, with two exceptions, were placed upon farms. Quite a number of boys came back to the hotel to say goodby, and thank me for bringing them out. I will note a few of the most interesting cases: John Mahoney, age 16, with Mr. J— T— (farmer); came in town Sunday to show me a fine mule his employer had given him. J— C—, age 14, went with Mrs. D—, who has a farm; came in to tell me how well pleased he is with his place; says he will work the farm as soon as he is able, and get half the profits. D— M—, age 17, went with A— H. B— (farmer); came back to tell me his employer had given him a pig, and a small plot of ground to work for himself. J— S—, age 17, went with J— B—; saw him after the boy had been with him three or four days; he likes him very much, and has given him a Canadian pony, with saddle and bridle. I might mention other cases, but I know the above to be facts.

The boys met with a good deal of sympathy. One old gentleman came in

just for the purpose of seeing a little boy who had lost an eye, and was a brother to a boy his son had taken. When I told the little fellow that the gentleman lived near the man who had taken his brother, he climbed up on his knee, and putting his arms around his neck, said: "I want to go home with you, and be your boy; I want to see my brother." The old gentleman wept, and wiping the tears from his eyes, said: "This is more than I can stand; I will take this boy home with me." He is a wealthy farmer and a good man, and I am sure will love the little fellow very much, for he is a very interesting child.

PROVIDING COUNTRY HOMES

THE OPPOSITION TO THIS REMEDY—ITS EFFECTS

This most sound and practical of charities always met with an intense opposition here from a certain class, for bigoted reasons. The poor were early taught, even from the altar, that the whole scheme of emigration was one of "proselytizing," and that every child thus taken forth was made a "Protestant." Stories were spread, too, that these unfortunate children were re-named in the West, and that thus even brothers and sisters might meet and perhaps marry! Others scattered the pleasant information that the little ones "were sold as slaves," and that the agents enriched themselves from the transaction.

These were the obstacles and objections among the poor themselves. So powerful were these, that it would often happen that a poor woman, seeing her child becoming ruined on the streets, and soon plainly to come forth as a criminal, would prefer this to a good home in the West; and we would have the discouragement of beholding the lad a thief behind prison-bars, when a journey to the country would have saved him. Most distressing of all was, when a drunken mother or father followed a half-starved boy, already scarred and sore with their brutality, and snatched him from one of our parties of little emigrants, all joyful with their new prospects, only to beat him and leave him on the streets.

With a small number of the better classes there was also a determined opposition to this humane remedy. What may be called the "Asylum-interest" set itself in stiff repugnance to our emigration scheme. They claimed—and I presume the most obstinate among them still claim—that we were scattering poison over the country, and that we benefited neither the farmers nor the children. They urged that a restraint of a few years in an Asylum or House of Detention rendered these children of poverty much more fit for practical life, and purified them to be good members of society.

We, on the other hand, took the ground that, as our children were not criminals, but simply destitute and homeless boys and girls, usually with

some ostensible occupation, they could not easily, on any legal grounds, be inclosed within Asylums; that, if they were, the expense of their maintenance would be enormous, while the cost of a temporary care of them in our Schools and Lodging-houses, and their transference to the West, was only trifling—in the proportion of fifteen dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, reckoning the latter as a year's cost for a child's support in an Asylum. Furthermore, we held and stoutly maintained that an Asylum-life is a bad preparation for practical life. The child, most of all, needs individual care and sympathy. In an Asylum, he is "Letter B, of Class 3," or "No. 2, of Cell 426," and that is all that is known of him. As a poor boy, who must live in a small house, he ought to learn to draw his own water, to split his wood, kindle his fires, and light his candle; as an "institutional child," he is lighted, warmed, and watered by machinery. He has a child's imitation, a desire to please his superiors, and readiness to be influenced by his companions. In a great caravansary he soon learns the external virtues which secure him a good bed and meal—decorum and apparent piety and discipline—while he practices the vices and unnamable habits which masses of boys of any class nearly always teach one another. His virtue seems to have an alms-house flavor; even his vices do not present the frank character of a thorough street-boy; he is found to lie easily, and to be very weak under temptation; somewhat given to hypocrisy, and something of a sneak. And, what is very natural, *the longer he is in the Asylum, the less likely he is to do well in outside life*. I hope I do no injustice to the unfortunate graduates of our Asylums; but that was and continues to be my strong impression of the institutional effect on an ordinary street boy or girl. Of course there are numerous exceptional cases among children—of criminal and inherited habits, and perverse and low organization, and premature cunning, lust, and temper, where a half-prison life may be the very best thing for them; but the majority of criminals among children, I do not believe, are much worse than the children of the same class outside, and therefore need scarcely any different training.

One test, which I used often to administer to our different systems, was to ask—and I request any Asylum advocate to do the same—"If your son were suddenly, by the death of his parents and relatives, to be thrown out on the streets, poor and homeless—as these children are—where would you prefer him to be placed—in an Asylum, or in a good farmer's home in the West?"

"The plainest farmer's home rather than the best Asylum—a thousand times!" was always my sincere answer.

Our discussion waxed warm, and was useful to both sides. Our weak point was that, if a single boy or girl in a village, from a large company we had sent, turned out bad, there was a cry raised that "every New York poor child," thus sent out, became "a thief or a vagabond," and for a time people believed it.

Our antagonists seized hold of this, and we immediately dispatched careful agents to collect statistics in the Central West, and, if possible, disprove the charges. . . .

The effort of tabulating, or making statistics, in regard to the children dispatched by our society, soon appeared exceedingly difficult, mainly because these youthful wanderers shared the national characteristic of love-of-change, and, like our own servants here, they often left one place for another, merely for fancy or variety. This was especially true of the lads or girls over sixteen or seventeen. The offer of better wages, or the attraction of a new employer, or the desire of "moving," continually stirred up these latter to migrate to another village, county, or state.

In 1859 we made a comprehensive effort to collect some of these statistics in regard to our children who had begun their new life in the West. The following is an extract from our report at this time:

During the last spring, the secretary made an extended journey through the Western States, to see for himself the nature and results of this work, carried on for the last five years through those States, under Mr. Tracy's careful supervision. During that time we have scattered there several thousands of poor boys and girls. In this journey he visited personally, and heard directly of, many hundreds of these little creatures, and appreciated, for the first time, to the full extent, the spirit with which the West has opened its arms to them. The effort to reform and improve these young outcasts has become a mission-work there. Their labor, it is true, is needed. But many a time a bountiful and Christian home is opened to the miserable little stranger, his habits are patiently corrected, faults without number are borne with, time and money are expended on him, solely and entirely from the highest religious motive of a noble self-sacrifice for an unfortunate fellow-creature. The peculiar warm heartedness of the Western people, and the equality of all classes, give them an especial adaptation to this work, and account for their success.

"Wherever we went" (we quote from his account) "we found the children sitting at the same table with the families, going to the school with the children, and every way treated as well as any other children. . . .

"The estimate we formed from a considerable field of observation was, that, out of those sent to the West under fifteen years, not more than two per cent turned out bad; and, even of those from fifteen to eighteen, not more than four per cent. . . ."

Of course, some of the older boys disappear entirely; some few return to the city; but it may generally be assumed that we hear of the worst cases—that is, of those who commit criminal offenses, or who come under the law—and it is these whom we reckon as the failures. One or two of such cases, out of hundreds in a given district who are doing well, sometimes make a great noise, and give a momentary impression that the work is not coming out well there; and there are always a few weak-minded people who accept such rumors without examination. Were the proportion of failures far greater than it is, the work would still be of advantage to the West, and a rich blessing to the city.

It is also remarkable, as years pass away, how few cases ever come to the knowledge of the Society, of ill-treatment of these children. The task of distributing them is carried on so publicly by Mr. Tracy, and in connection with such responsible persons, that any case of positive abuse would at once be known and corrected by the community itself.

"On this journey," says the secretary, "we heard of but one instance even of neglect. We visited the lad, and discovered that he had not been schooled as he should, and had sometimes been left alone at night in the lonely log house. Yet this had roused the feelings of the whole country-side; we removed the boy, amid the tears and protestations of the 'father' and 'mother,' and put him in another place. As soon as we had left the village, he ran right back to his old place! . . ."

In some cases, those who have become disobedient and troublesome are said to have been so principally through the fault of their employers; few instances, comparatively, from this four or five thousand, are known to have committed criminal offenses—in some States not more than four per cent. This is true of Michigan; and in Ohio, we do not think, from all the returns we can gather, that the proportion is even so large as that. The agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union for Indiana, a gentleman of the highest respectability, constantly traveling through the State—a State where we have placed five hundred and fifty-seven children—testifies that "very few have gone back to New York," and that "he has heard of no one who has committed criminal offenses."

The superintendent of the Chicago Reform School, one of the most successful and experienced men in this country in juvenile reform, states that his institution had never had but three of our children committed by the Illinois State Courts, though we have sent to the State two hundred and sixty-five, and such an institution is, of course, the place where criminal children of this class would at once be committed. . . .

The immense, practically unlimited demand by Western communities for the services of these children shows that the first-comers have at least done moderately well, especially as every case of crime is bruited over a wide country-side, and stamps the whole company sent with disgrace. These cases we always hear of. The lives of poor children in these homes

seem like the annals of great States in this, that, when they make no report and pass in silence, then we may be sure happiness and virtue are the rule. When they make a noise, crime and misery prevail. Twenty years' virtuous life in a street-boy makes no impression on the public. A single offense is heard for hundreds of miles. A theft of one lad is imputed to scores of others about him.

The children are not indentured, but are free to leave, if ill-treated or dissatisfied; and the farmers can dismiss them, if they find them useless or otherwise unsuitable.

This apparently loose arrangement has worked well, and put both sides on their good behavior. We have seldom had any cases brought to our attention of ill-treatment. . . .

On the whole, if the warm discussion between the "Asylum-interest" and the "Emigration party" were ever renewed, probably both would agree (if they were candid) that their opponents' plan had virtues which they did not then see. There are some children so perverse, and inheriting such bad tendencies, and so stamped with the traits of a vagabond life, that a Reformatory is the best place for them. On the other hand, the majority of orphan, deserted, and neglected boys and girls are far better in a country home. The Asylum has its great dangers, and is very expensive. The Emigration-plan must be conducted with careful judgment, and applied, so far as is practicable to children under, say, the age of fourteen years. . . .

The experience we have thus had for twenty years in transferring such masses of poor children to rural districts is very instructive on the general subject of "Emigration as a Cure for Pauperism." . . .

With reference to the cost of this method of charity, we have usually estimated the net expenses for the agent, his salary, the railroad fares, food and clothing for the child, as averaging fifteen dollars per head for each child sent. Whenever practicable, the agent collects from the employers the railroad expenses, and otherwise obtains gifts from benevolent persons; so that, frequently, our collections and "returned fares" in this way have amounted to \$6,000 or \$8,000 per annum. These gifts, however, are becoming less and less, and will probably eventually cease altogether; the farmer feeling that he has done his fair share in receiving and training the child.

We are continually forced, also, toward the newer and more distant States, where labor is more in demand, and the temper of the population is more generous, so that the average expense of the aid thus given will in the future be greater for each boy or girl relieved. . . .

Were our movement allowed its full scope, we could take the place of every Orphan Asylum and Alms-House for pauper children in and around New York, and thus save the public hundreds of thousands of dollars, and immensely benefit the children. We could easily "locate" 5,000 children per annum, from the ages of two years to fifteen, in good homes in the West, at an average net cost of fifteen dollars per head.

If Professor Fawcett's objection¹ be urged, that we are thus doing for the children of the Alms-house poor, what the industrious and self-supporting poor cannot get done for their own children, we answer that we are perfectly ready to do the same for the outside hard-working poor; but their attachment to the city, their ignorance or bigotry, and their affection for their children, will always prevent them from making use of such a benefaction to any large degree. The poor, living in their own homes, seldom wish to send out their children in this way. We do "place out" a certain number of such children; but the great majority of our little emigrants are the "waifs and strays" of the streets in a large city.

¹ See Fawcett on "Pauperism."

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE National Conference of Social Work will meet in San Francisco from June 26 to July 3. The meeting is important for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that this is our first meeting in California for forty years, and the first meeting on the Pacific Coast since the Seattle Conference of 1913. Preliminary programs for the June meeting have been issued, but they do not as yet provide the names of speakers. Program building has on the whole followed the suggestions of the social workers in the far western states, who are so often unable to attend the Conferences and who are assuming a heavy responsibility for this one. The interest of the Conference membership in some of the valiant experiments that have been made in the field of social work in the West has also led to the assignment of such subjects as the proposed California plan for the state certification of social workers, California's experience with the sterilization law for inmates of state institutions, the registration of transients, as well as the problems connected with the oriental settlements of the Western Coast, to prominent places on the June program.

The California Conference of Social Work has given up holding an annual meeting of its own this year and will combine with the National Conference. The Conference in turn has recognized this co-operative spirit by asking the California group to undertake responsibility for the program on Friday evening, June 28.

All the announcements that have been forthcoming make the trip alluring as a vacation undertaking, and there is substantial interest among the membership that indicates a good attendance from the Middle West. New committees that are doing important work for the Conference include one on the machinery of program making, a committee on the relationship of kindred groups to the Conference, including some of the questions not implied in the development of the consultation service, and an editorial committee of three to be responsible for the publication of the proceedings.

NEWS of the American Association of Social Workers which is furnished by the *Compass* includes a meeting of the Executive Committee held in Chicago in December and two meetings of the National Council, one held in Chicago in December, and another in New York in January.

The business dealt with included the appointment of the Nominating Committee for the June meeting, the appointment of a Committee on Preparation for Social Work with Karl de Schweinitz, of Philadelphia, as chairman, and a report of the Committee of Rules, which dealt with the organization and program of the Council. The Committee on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work (Mr. Lurie, chairman) reported concerning social-work positions under the civil service.

The Executive Committee also discussed certain questions raised about the indorsement of party candidates by social workers. According to the *Compass*, the question arose because of criticism of certain New York social workers who had indorsed the Democratic candidate. Curiously enough the fact that a considerable number of Chicago social workers, including veterans like Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Graham Taylor, had indorsed the Republican candidate did not seem to have caused any discussion. The Committee quite properly agreed that social workers were of course entirely free to express their opinions regarding political issues.

A new publication, the report of a conference held at Milford, Pennsylvania, is announced to be ready for distribution by the Association in April. The report deals with the following questions: What is generic social case work? What is a competent agency? What is a desirable division of labor among case-work agencies? What is adequate training for social case workers?

THE *Compass* for January, 1929, announced negotiations undertaken at the request of the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration by the Committee of the American Association of Social Workers on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work for a co-operative undertaking to list requirements for positions in public social service. The Bureau has prepared specifications for positions in the library field, in nursing, and in other professions. A sub-committee of the Association Committee composed of Helen Beckley, Elizabeth A. Hughes, Joseph L. Moss, besides the chairman, Harry L. Lurie, met in Chicago, February 23, with Mr. Fred Telford and other members of the Bureau. Mr. Bruno, president, and Mr. West, secretary of the A.A.S.W., were also present, and plans were laid for an appeal for funds and for a joint undertaking in the field of public welfare.

IN HONOR of Mary E. Richmond, the February number of *The Family* has published a series of articles by friends who knew her and worked with her. Among the contributors to this memorial number are

Joanna C. Colcord, Hugh Auchincloss, Frances Perkins, Gordon Hamilton, and Frank J. Bruno.

THE fund solicited for "the hundred neediest cases" of greater New York by the *New York Times* during the holiday season has been commented on before in this column¹ as an admirably successful attempt to enable those who wish to give expression to their generous impulses during the Christmas season, so to give as to provide in the wisest way made possible in a great community for those whose need is undeniably exigent. "The short and simple annals of the poor" are set plainly before the public during the three last weeks of each year, and public response has grown to be so generous that the fund contributed increased one hundred fold in the seventeenth appeal as compared with the first.

Both sides of a case are, however, interesting; and we ought to take note of the fact that the *New Leader*, the Socialist paper founded by Eugene V. Debs, sees in the newspaper appeal for the "neediest cases" a "pageant of poverty," a "parade of social pariahs," a hundred selected from "the pit where thousands fester beneath the richest city in the world." Certainly we ought to study carefully the Socialist version of some of the cases presented together with the accompanying Socialist comment:

Here is the presser in an East Side tenement who collapsed at his work and sank to destitution while four children cry for food. There is the girl of thirteen in a basement stitching powder puffs, child of a longshoreman, head of a family of nine, and earning \$20 a week. There is the despairing woman in a rickety tenement thinking of drinking the lye which she purchased with her last 15 cents and a family of five living among rats in a dark and damp storage room. An emaciated young mother with five children starving because civilization had no room for her. There is the wife and five children whom a noble judge sentenced to destitution by sending the breadwinner to prison for some petty crime. There is the soldier who went to war to make a world "fit for heroes to live in," now a tubercular, homeless, hungry, and dependent upon the alms of neighbors. Another war veteran who at the end of three months of unemployment, his wife and two babes hungry, dazed at the social magic that has hurled him from the heights of a "hero" to the depths as an outcast of the industrial world. . . .

Do not misunderstand us. We would raise no bar against your mission of mercy. We would not prevent your descent into the pit to bring light, heat, clothing, food, and comfort to its inhabitants—even though it be for only a day,

¹ I, 143-45.

a week, or a few months. It is the best that you have discovered and it is necessary, but it is not a substitute for the industrial equity and social justice that must replace it. Necessary as this mercy is, it merely . . . for a time keeps your wretches reconciled to their fate. . . .

Finally, we Socialists peer into the social abyss with you but we see more than you do. We see the hypocrisy, the injustice, the social wrongs, the exploitation, the deprivations that are inseparable from a system where industrial opportunities are owned by one class and the rest of us are dependent upon the owners. For industrial mastery we are determined to substitute industrial democracy. For capitalism we shall fight for the ideals of Socialism.

Then the wastrels and the misfits, yes, the social abyss itself, will gradually disappear. Some unfortunates will always be the wards of society, but these will not be the objects of private charity. They will be a social charge of a civilized people, as much as the maintenance of public libraries and the distribution of the mail.

Justice, not charity; Socialism, not capitalism; freedom, not dependence; genuine humanitarianism, not hypocrisy—these shall be the basis of the social order which we will build.

Thoughtful social workers will, however, be quick to see the injustice of attacking this excellent newspaper charity. The dangerous newspaper methods of exploiting the Christmas spirit in such a way as to do harm instead of good are only too familiar. The attempt to give publicity to some unwise method of extending the benevolence and good will of the Christmas season to those most in need is only too familiar. Social workers would indeed be open to censure if they failed to look for constructive social policies which would make the poor independent instead of the object of public or private charitable assistance. But the brief anonymous statements issued in behalf of the "hundred neediest" must remain a welcome substitute for the unwise public giving of the holiday season which often injured those most in need of help.

THE Salvation Army proceedings in High Council have been watched with no little interest as a case of importance in the control of charitable trusts. Early in January, commissioners were arriving in London from the outposts of the Army in the various countries of the world to attend the High Council which was summoned to meet for the first time on January 8. In this day of modern "foundations" and carefully protected charitable trusts, the Salvation Army, which is often spoken of as the most democratic of charities, has appeared as having certain unusual features of a dynastic autocracy. The *Manchester Guardian* published, in January, an interesting conversation with the manager of one

of the legal departments which has dealt for over twenty years with Salvation Army property and finance. This informant is reported to have said:

The Army is unique in several respects; for instance, every flag, every trumpet, every village hall, every shelter for men, every home for women, every hospital, and every waste-paper collecting truck in the country, even though it is labelled "Property of the Salvation Army," is really held in the name of "W. Bramwell Booth. . . ."

If you examine the accounts paid by the Salvation Army you will find they are all paid by cheque drawn, not for the Salvation Army per W. Bramwell Booth, General, as is the case of other concerns of a similar kind. The cheques are signed for W. Bramwell Booth by one or other of the accountants. Even the wages paid to officers at headquarters are signed for them not as being received from the Salvation Army or from the General of the Army, but from W. Bramwell Booth.

The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that the Army is not in this country an incorporated movement. If I get damaged through some fault of the Army organisation I must sue Bramwell Booth, as he holds the whole of the property and he is legally solely responsible. The General, he went on, is not even legally a trustee in a very large number of instances.

Nearly forty years ago, when the first General Booth was raising millions for his "Darkest England" plan, Professor Thomas H. Huxley in a series of letters first published in the London *Times* and later reprinted in the well-known essay on "Social Diseases and Worse Remedies" challenged the Army proposals on the ground that the Army was a despotic organization and that there was no adequate provision for safeguarding the Army funds since by the Deed Poll, enrolled in chancery in 1878, the General was constituted the sole trustee of all Army funds and property.

No attempt will be made to discuss the Deed Polls of 1878 or 1904, their legality, or the interesting questions raised as to the Army's whole constitutional and legal position. Attention is merely directed here to the fact that some very important and unusual questions relating to "charitable trusts" and "charitable uses" have been raised.

Professor Huxley published in the London *Times* of January 22, 1891, an opinion given by an eminent Chancery Queen's Counsel respecting the earlier "Declaration of Trust Deed" of the first General Booth. The legal opinion then was to the effect that

nothing can be done to control or to interfere with Booth in the disposition or application of the properties or moneys purported to be affected by the deed.

As to the properties vested in Booth himself, it appears to me that such are placed absolutely under his power and control both as to the disposal and ap-

plication thereof, and that there are no trusts for any specific purposes declared which could be enforced, and that there are no defined persons nor classes of persons who can claim to be entitled to the benefit of them, or at whose instance they could be enforced by any legal process.

As to the properties (if any) vested in trustees appointed by Booth, it appears to me that the only person who has a *locus standi* to enforce these trusts is Booth himself, and that he could have absolute power over the trusts and the property, and might deal with the property as he pleased, and that, as in the former case, nothing could be done in the way of enforcing any trusts against him.

The High Council which met at Sunbury-on-Thames last January was summoned, according to the report in the *London Times*, not only because of the long illness of General Bramwell Booth which had prevented him from fulfilling the duties of his office for more than six months, but also "because of the agitation which has grown in strength during the past three years, against the present method of succession to the generalship and the individual trusteeship which the position carried."

A further statement in the *Times* may be quoted:

The General's supporters made it clear early in the discussions that they did not agree with the interpretation popularly put upon his trusteeship. The argument of the reformers has been that the General has no proprietary rights in the property of the Salvation Army but he holds it simply as the trustee of the members who are the beneficiaries under the trust. In reply it has been pointed out that the property is in the General's name.

Two of the main proposals put forward by the reform group in the Army—that the generalship should be held only for a term of years and that the nomination by a general of his successor should require the assent of the commissioners—certainly seem to be reasonable enough.

Exciting have been the various proceedings: the vote of the Council to remove General Booth, the General's determination to appeal to the court, the decision of the court that the deposing of the General was null and void because the General or a representative of the General had not been allowed a hearing. The "reformers" were not intimidated by the court. At a later meeting of the Council after the court order had been complied with, Commissioner Higgins, the Chief of Staff, whose qualifications include a long Headquarters experience and close knowledge of Army affairs, was elected to the vacant generalship.

The following account of the situation, which is taken from an account in the *London Times* prior to the meeting of the High Council, is very interesting:

Had it merely been desirable to declare the general's office vacant owing to the incapacity of the present holder to carry out its duties, and to allow his nominee to succeed him in the way normally prescribed by the constitution of the Salvation Army, there would have been no need to summon the High Council from all parts of the world. The general could have been declared permanently incapacitated owing to physical infirmity by a majority of four out of five of the commissioners, and the office would therefore have become vacant. The nominee of the general, whose name in a sealed envelope he placed in the hands of the Salvation Army's solicitors soon after he succeeded his father, would have entered automatically into the succession.

The seven commissioners responsible for calling the High Council refrained from availing themselves of that comparatively simple course, and have taken instead the line of action which, if it leads to the general's being adjudicated unfit for office, will also nullify any nominations he may have made concerning his successor. The High Council might select the same person to succeed General Bramwell Booth as he has already nominated, but that could never be known definitely, because such nominations would have to be destroyed unopened. All these provisions are contained in the Deed Poll of 1904, which, with certain earlier documents, is the constitution of the Salvation Army.

According to this document, the general shall be deemed to cease to perform his duties "if a resolution adjudicating the general unfit for office and removing him therefrom shall be passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the members present and voting of the High Council." There are no other limitations on the discretion of the High Council. It is not even demanded that the reason for the council's decision shall accompany the resolution. The Deed Poll provides, however, that if the "vacation of the office" takes place in this way through "adjudicated unfitness," then "any and every statement made by the vacating general as to his successor or the means to be adopted for appointing his successor shall be void and be disregarded and shall be destroyed without being opened."

Nothing can be done to amend the constitution of the Salvation Army whether with a view to abolishing the one-man trusteeship or of altering the method of succession to the generalship, until the new general has been appointed. . . . The present general has been approached several times with requests for reform under this clause and has refused his consent.

INDIAN RIGHTS received notable recognition in the Meriam report of the Institute for Government Research¹ on *The Problem of Indian Administration*, which raised numerous questions of interest to social workers, especially those concerning the breaking-up of Indian families by the sending of Indian children away to the Indian schools, as well as the conditions in those schools. It is encouraging that the Conference of

¹ Reviewed in this *Review*, II, 515-18 (September, 1928).

Friends of the Indian, held at Atlantic City, late in December, 1928, is reported to have been well attended and successful.

General agreement was expressed that the outlook was now encouraging for a "forward and concerted move to get the Indian Service on a modern basis" with a trained and increased personnel and adequate funds. Dr. Haven Emerson gave an address on "Starving Indian Children," in which he said briefly but vigorously:

There are twenty-seven thousand Indian children forced by the Government of the United States into its so-called boarding-schools, where the food allowance averages eleven cents a day per child—supplemented, it is true, in some but not all of the schools by products of the school farm. Dr. Emerson also pointed out that the Institute Report showed the children to be undernourished to the point of starvation—using the term "starvation" in its technical medical sense of a condition involving insufficient food and inadequate diet such as to render persons especially susceptible to disease. He emphasized also that the Report showed that the Indian children in boarding-schools are forced to do industrial work which would be inhuman if imposed upon well-nourished children; that they are often housed in insanitary firetraps; and that they often receive no medical attention worthy of the name, and when they contract contagious disease they are sent home to die and to infect other families.

Suppose that such a record were to be presented with respect to a private guardian in the community in which you live? What would you do about it? Yet there are twenty-seven thousand Indian children subjected to such treatment, and up to the present little or nothing has been done about it.

Finally, Miss Julia C. Lathrop dealt with the same Report as "A Social Service Project," reminding her hearers that the Meriam investigation is a piece of scientific social research, and far from completed. She answered the question "Can the personnel needed be obtained by the Government?" by saying vigorously,

Not if tenure depends upon the "fortunes of politics." Not if interest in this government business is measured solely by attainable income. Under the Civil Service Law of the United States—intelligently and justly administered—there is enough elasticity to select competent civil servants of any type, to secure their tenure and their freedom. We must support the necessary appropriations from Congress. We must support the Civil Service Commission in obtaining the competent civil servants our experiment requires. Above all we must not be spasmodic. This is a very long piece of work at best. We must maintain public interest by reports of progress. We must value and encourage wise volunteer agencies for Indian welfare. We must continually remind ourselves that the ultimate responsibility for solving the "Indian Problem" lies upon the Government, that is, upon all of us. This last is our great imperative.

The Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia had expected to publish a full report of the proceedings of the Atlantic City Conference of Friends of the Indian, but after mature consideration the plan has been abandoned. The proceedings were so voluminous that the estimated cost of printing them was greater than the Association felt justified in expending; and the inevitable delays connected with the assembling of the material meant that the value of publication had in some measure been diminished.

The Conference, however, was valuable in bringing together the various groups and individuals interested in a united movement to modernize the Indian Service and put it on a basis equal to the welfare work conducted by the government in other departments.

Attention should also be called to the extremely valuable brief pamphlet *Our Indian Citizens—Their Crisis*, issued by the Indian Defense Association (Bliss Building, Washington, D.C.), of which Dr. Haven Emerson is the distinguished president.

THE news that Nevada has been admitted to the so-called Birth Registration Area means that the Vital Statistics Division of the United States Bureau of the Census under the leadership of the late Dr. William H. Davis has now brought more than 90 per cent of the total population of the nation into the "Area." The three states remaining outside the fold are New Mexico, South Dakota, and Texas. This means a great triumph for the principle of the registration of social statistics, but it means much more than that. It means also strengthening the administration of some important social-welfare measures. Compulsory education, child-labor laws, and aid-to-mothers legislation make use of birth-certificates if properly enforced. Infant-welfare work also is dependent on birth-certificates if properly enforced. Infant-welfare work also is dependent on birth-registration. In various countries of Europe birth-registration is necessary for the enforcement of compulsory military service regulations; but in Great Britain, as in the United States, the primary uses of birth-registration are humanitarian. In England the national system of registering births goes back to the year 1837, when early experiences with child-labor laws showed that they could not be enforced without documentary proof of age. It is to be hoped that the three laggard states in America may soon be persuaded to join the great majority and that birth-statistics and documentary proof of age may be available for the whole United States.

AN INTERESTING comparison is made by Professor A. Ilvento in *Difesa Sociale* between Italian statistics of child welfare and figures published not long ago by John C. Gebhart, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in a study entitled *The Growth and Development of Italian Children in New York City*. Professor Ilvento presents statistics of height and weight for the age groups from five to fourteen years which he has assembled from the city schools of Lazio and from the rural schools of Lazio, Albruzzi, and Basilicata—provinces which for more than three decades have sent forth to America great throngs of emigrants.

Although the comparisons of height are interesting from the standpoint both of health and ethnology, the striking fact brought out by Professor Ilvento's tables is that Italian peasant children in Italy show a more favorable weight record than the Italian children of the same age groups in New York. His figures confirm Mr. Gebhart's conclusion that Italian children in New York are both underdeveloped and undernourished. Not only do they fall below the standard of American children, but also they fail to measure up to the level of the provinces from which their parents emigrated. "The Italian emigrant in New York can send gold back to his relatives in the homeland," comments Professor Ilvento, "but he cannot provide his children with a physical development as substantial as they could have acquired in the lean fields of Basilicata." It is a matter of regret that the Italian article makes no reference to the interesting findings about the Italian population of New York which were secured by Professor Boas in 1909¹ and which one hoped led to a different conclusion.

Efforts of the Fascist government to combat disease continue unabated throughout the kingdom, according to the same number of *Difesa Sociale*. The most recent project is directed toward the control of tuberculosis in Sardinia, where a high degree of mortality prevails, particularly among the miners and the shepherds. The government has recently appropriated 5,600,000 lire which is to be expended under the direction of the Italian Red Cross for the following purposes: (1) to construct in the province of Nuoro an interprovincial sanatorium for Sardinia with provision for 160 beds, 80 for each sex; (2) to enlarge the sanatorium Cesare Battisti which is located on Via Portuense in Rome; 90 beds are to be added to the men's section and 40 to the women's.

¹ *Reports of the U.S. Immigration Commission*, Vol. XXXVIII (61st Cong., 2d sess., Senate Doc. No. 208).

SOcial workers in common with the many other groups must have had their interest in South American affairs stirred by the recent visit there of President-elect Hoover. The news that has been coming in from and about social welfare organizations in various countries in South America is extremely encouraging and indicates that the United States will soon have a distinguished following, although we hope she may retain her present position of leadership in methods of social work for children on the American continent. Reports come to us, for example, that remarkable progress appears to have been made since 1924, when the Fourth Pan-American Child Congress was held in Chile.

Four years ago Chile had no trained social workers, no family case work, no provision for dependent children aside from large, congregate asylums, and no juvenile courts. Almost immediately following the child congress, the first social-service school in South America was established in Santiago, and a number of its graduates have been placed in hospitals, clinics, institutions, and schools. Soon after, a member of the staff of one of the largest orphanages was sent to the United States to study methods of institutional care, and plans were formulated for the reorganization of the orphanage into a cottage-plan institution in the country. Graduates of the school of social service are employed to make investigations and develop a general program of case work.

Another milestone in Chile's progress toward a modern child-welfare program was the recent adoption of a carefully formulated law, which became effective January 1, 1929, setting up a National Office for the Protection of Minors and a system of juvenile courts with exclusive jurisdiction over delinquent minors under sixteen and partial jurisdiction over those between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Among the interesting features of the new Juvenile Court law of Chile is the provision that judges should be appointed by the President of the Republic from groups of three named by the court of appeals after competitive examinations as to qualifications. Juvenile court judges must have the qualifications required for judges of the highest rank in the department, and in addition must demonstrate their knowledge of psychology in accordance with regulations to be adopted. Medical, psychological, and social service is to be provided in connection with houses of detention, which are to be under the management of the National Office for the Protection of Minors.

IN ARGENTINA, where a juvenile court has been in operation in Buenos Aires since 1919, notable progress has been made in the medico-psychological study of delinquents and in institutional care. Re-

cently a national commission has been studying provision for delinquent children in Europe and America with a view to reorganization of juvenile court and institutional methods. In Uruguay an important report of the large public child-caring agency includes proposals for thorough-going reorganization based on Uruguayan experience and the study of methods developed in other countries. The necessity for trained social service is emphasized in this report. In Brazil, where child hygiene and juvenile court work have been matters of public interest, a comprehensive children's code has been adopted. Other countries of South America are also making notable progress.

Moving to the north, the progress in children's work is found to be widespread. Costa Rica has placed the former director of the New Mexico division of child hygiene and public-health nursing in charge of its national division of child hygiene. In a recent number of the Mexican journal, *El Niño*, in which the regulations governing the juvenile court of the federal district of Mexico are given, a letter from a Mexican correspondent in one of the leading cities in the United States is published. After describing her visit to the juvenile court and detention home in this city, she remarks:

It was impossible not to make a mental comparison between the treatment given delinquent children here and that given in my own country, with great satisfaction to my patriotic pride, for in my country treatment appears to be more in accord with the requirements of modern science.

THE School of Social Service of the Charity Organization Society of Santiago, Chile (La Junta de Beneficencia de Santiago), is issuing a useful quarterly publication, *Servicio Social*. The fall number shows a wide range of interest in contributions, including two studies by Dr. Franz Karner, of the Vienna Municipal Welfare Bureau, on "The System of Charitable Relief of the City of Vienna," and "The Charitable Institutions of the City of Vienna"; also a study "The Orphan," read before the School, and an extract from the book with the same title by Don Ismael Valdés Valdés that is now off the press;¹ another lecture given before the School on "The Relation of Social Workers to the Problem of Child Abandonment," by Dr. Luis Calvo Mackenna; a reprint of an article by Dr. John C. A. Gerster in *Hospital Social Service* for April, 1928, on "The Preventive Work of the Case Worker in the Cancer Problem," translated by O. Salazar; and finally a section devoted to the special interests of the School. The lectures to be given in the School for one quarter are listed,

¹ See review in this issue, p. 136.

on a great variety of topics. The activities of the Case Workers' Club are chronicled and a series of cases are presented illustrating the work done by the students of the School: settlement work in a recently started settlement for school children in the parish of Andacollo, case work in a "milk depot" (Gota de Leche), intake work with the Children's Protective League Home, visiting teacher work started under Dr. Cienfuegos of the Health Institute in 1927, work with the Visiting Nurse Association, work with the Reform School, and so on. These actual accounts of the work done illustrate the methods of work and the problems that are being most studied in this new school, which is the only one of its kind in Latin America. Much concern over the problems of the unmarried mothers and the abandoned and dependent children is indicated. The case work done shows that each case worker was called on to do a variety of kinds of work incidental to her particular job. The interest in psychiatry is illustrated in a series of notes on social work in other countries that concludes the issue. The Santiago School certainly deserves to be congratulated on this solid piece of work.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL has issued an interesting annual report for 1927-28. Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell remains chairman for the present year with Robert S. Lynd again as his assistant. Dr. Harold G. Moulton, who has been the chairman of the important Committee on Problems and Policy and in whose hands "the administration of the research program has set new and gratifying standards of effectiveness," is to be succeeded by Dr. William F. Ogburn. In addition to the Council of twenty-one, made up of three representatives designated by each of the seven social science associations, there is an imposing array of Council committees. Among those which may be of special interest to social workers are the Advisory Committees on Industrial Relations, on Interracial Relations, on Population, on Problems of Philanthropic Financing, and on Research in Familial Relations. Among the grants-in-aid approved by the Council during the past year was a grant to Professor C. C. North, of Ohio State University, to complete a study to develop a program for the co-ordination of social welfare agencies in the larger American cities.

In an excellent statement, the report defines the scope of the Council's research work in the following paragraph:

The research interests of the Social Science Research Council are as wide as human behavior, and comprehend both so-called "pure" researches and more "practical" or "applied" activities. By and large, the first question the Council

prefers to ask when confronted with one of the friction-areas which we call "social problems" is, "What is happening?" Only after that question has been answered can intelligent consideration be given to the question: "What are the possibilities of more effective control in this particular area of human behavior?" While the Council is sympathetic with all intelligent endeavors to "correct" or "better" conditions by propaganda, it does not itself engage in or give funds for propaganda. This policy is dictated by the necessity for division of labor, confirmed by the belief that, viewed in the large, more resources are available for the practical, immediately appealing work of "reform" than for the patient and frequently slow labor of research. Nor is the Council interested in "big" projects or "little" projects as such, or in the mere multiplication of the man-power engaged on a given problem. It is interested primarily in encouraging greater diversity and fertility of scientific attack, including more carefully controlled experimentation, upon any clearly defined problem of human behavior. It believes that such fertility of attack is encouraged when specialists from more than one discipline—the economist, the historian, and the anthropologist, or the political scientist, the statistician, the sociologist, and the psychologist—are enabled to formulate a common problem and join in planning and executing a common program of research.

Available funds are limited, narrowly limited in comparison with work clamoring to be done, but within these limitations the Council is seeking by research, by conference, and by publication to promote the application of science to the solving of social problems.

THE establishment of the first juvenile court in Italy is announced in *La Difesa Sociale*. The new court, which was established in Milan and has now been functioning for several months, owes its inception to the national Beccaria society, an organization named, appropriately enough, after the great Italian jurist of the eighteenth century. The success of the juvenile court system in the United States has served as an inspiration for the Italian venture. The hearings are held in the private chambers of the judge, with only the child and his parents or near relatives present. A psychiatrist is also associated with the court to advise with the judge in behavior adjustments.

BELGIUM sends an interesting report on juvenile court statistics showing that the number of cases handled in that country by the juvenile courts decreased from nearly 17,000 in 1913 to 11,000 in 1927, according to statistics published by Dr. Isidore Maus, Director General of the Belgian Child-Welfare Office. This decrease has been particularly marked and constant since 1920, and is attributed by Dr. Maus partly to the improvement of the economic situation of the working-classes and the decrease in the birth-rate during the war, and partly to the effect of

the Child-Welfare Law of 1912, which provides for probation and other preventive and corrective measures.

The number of cases put on probation has shown a tendency to increase in the last few years, and there has also been a considerable increase in the number of cases committed to specialized institutions. On the other hand, the number of cases referred to societies or institutions interested in general care of children has continued to decrease.

Of the cases brought to the juvenile courts 75 per cent were dismissed in 1913 and 79 per cent in 1927. The jurisdiction of the juvenile court ends at the age of twenty-one. A follow-up study of nearly 10,000 former juvenile delinquents is said to show that between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six, 82 per cent had no conflict with the law.

THAT rent allowances should be granted by municipal housing authorities in proportion to the number of children is a recent suggestion put forward at a public health conference in England. It appears that in the "garden city" of Welwyn a scheme of reducing rents for families with children has been in practice for the last four years in connection with 300 houses owned by the urban district council and 223 houses owned by public utility societies in the area. Sixpence a week abatement is said to be allowed for each child under fourteen years of age—or sixteen years of age if the child remains at school. With 523 houses and a rent roll of approximately \$1,800 a week, the abatements for children amount to a little more than \$100 a week. The largest abatement in any one family seems to have been a little over \$50 a year for a family of eight children, and we can well believe the statement that this was "a material help during the period of maximum financial stringency in the life of the family." Not only are rents reduced for children but an extra shilling a week is charged for each authorized lodger, the extra payments for this purpose amounting to about \$15 a week. In a letter to the *London Times*, a representative of the Welwyn Garden City Corporation reports that the system is not a difficult one to work out in practice.

The arrangement is said to offer a sound method of differential subsidization. Nothing is more absurd than to reduce the rents of all the houses in a scheme because a proportion of the tenants are without the necessary ability to pay, when with a little trouble a given amount of subsidy can be made to go much farther and made to meet definite cases of need.

It is said further that a large percentage of the state and municipal subsidization to housing has passed quite unnecessarily into the pockets of

people who could have done without it, and inevitably resulted in less being done than could otherwise have been done to solve the problem of the housing of the working-classes. Large families have thus been forced to live under overcrowded conditions.

A RECENT letter published in the London *Times* and headed "For Social Service" contains an appeal to men and women to enter the "large spheres of work waiting to be filled"—by volunteers. Probably no other profession in the civilized world expects to have its work done by men and women who are not only unsalaried but untrained. In the public appeal, which is issued from the London Council of Social Service, appears the following statement of the social work that the London Council thinks can be done by the volunteers recruited for this purpose:

In such matters as Poor Law reform, public health, public amenities, housing, legal aid for poor persons, a leading part has been assigned to it by those who care most and know most in these subjects. It offers training to the inexperienced and responsible posts to the experienced. I shall be glad to hear from any who will offer their voluntary services, especially for any of the poorer parts of London.

THE formal opening of the recently completed federal prison for women in West Virginia is an occasion for extending congratulations to the United States Department of Justice. The word prison is avoided in the official name, which is the "Federal Industrial Institution for Women." The buildings were erected at a cost of approximately two and a half million dollars with a site of 500 acres. A very modern cottage-plan system has been constructed following the lines of the best state reformatories for women with cottage units, each providing for about thirty prisoners. Each "cottage" has its own kitchen, dining-room, and living-room, so that opportunity for training in home-making may be available. There is a receiving and classification building for new arrivals and fourteen other cottages for housing the remainder of the population, which will number 500 when the institution is used to capacity. There is also a school and assembly, a hospital, an industrial building, power laundry, cannery, greenhouses, poultry plant, dairy, and facilities for all forms of farm and garden work. Great credit is due to Mabel Walker Willebrandt, the assistant attorney-general, for her interest in this plan and her success in putting it through along approved lines with the help of experts.

All this is in refreshing contrast to the old situation when women who were convicted in the federal courts were placed by the Department of Justice in various state prisons, county jails, workhouses, or other local penal institutions, many of which were extremely insanitary places of

confinement and none of which offered the inmates any hope of restoration to a new life upon release.

The Congressional enabling act specified that the new institution should offer training in the English branches and should fit the women committed to its care to earn their living when released. With Dr. Mary B. Harris as the superintendent there is every hope that the new institution will fulfil the hopes of those who have planned it. The fundamental principle of the institution is the individualization of treatment and training.

THE *Harvard Law Review* for January contains an important article by Dr. and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck on "Predictability in the Administration of Criminal Justice," which is in substance one chapter of a work that has been for some time under way and is now about to be published under the probable title *Five Hundred Criminal Careers*.

To this article Dean Roscoe Pound supplies an interesting Foreword, in which he points out the changes in public opinion during the past sixty to sixty-five years, since the enactment by Massachusetts of the first Probation Law, from reliance on abstractly uniform outwardly mechanical judicial administration to attempts at individualization of treatment and preventive justice, through the use of administrative procedures and back to a new quest for security and certainty. He says:

Let it once be made clear that probation laws may be administered with a reasonable assurance of distinguishing between the sheep and the goats, let it be shown that the illusory certainty of the old system may be replaced by a régime of reasonably predictable results as compared with one of merely predictable sentence, and the paths of a modern penal treatment will be made straight.

In the article referred to, Dr. and Mrs. Glueck present the results of their examination begun in September, 1928, into the post-parole conduct of all former inmates of the Massachusetts Reformatory whose parole expired during the years 1921 or 1922. There were 510 cases, whom the authors believed to be representative of the general run of the mill in the Massachusetts institution as well as representative of the juvenile adult offender in the country as a whole.

They point out the lack of standards for measuring the success of penal treatment in the failure to verify information and in the failure to ascertain the conduct of persons who have been convicted and finished their term either in prison or on parole.

In this inquiry, then, the conduct of each person for five years after the termination of parole was learned and related to his experience before

and during his imprisonment and during the time he was on parole. His success or failure was related to thirteen factors: (1) his industrial habits preceding sentence, (2) the seriousness and frequency of his offenses prior to sentence, (3) the number of prior arrests for crime, (4) his penal experience, (5) his economic responsibility, (6) his mental abnormality, (7) the frequency of his offenses while in the reformatory, (8) his criminal conduct during parole, (9) his industrial habits after parole, (10) his attitude toward his family after parole, (11) his economic responsibility following parole, (12) the character of his home after parole, (13) his use of leisure after parole. Some of these factors, such as the relative seriousness of his offense, seemed to have slight correlation with his success or failure in the post-parole period. Some, such as his habits of industry, seemed to be closely related to his later success.

It is not possible here to describe Dr. and Mrs. Glueck's statistical methods. Readers of the *Review* will, however, be greatly interested in the publication of the study of which this article is an interesting chapter.

STUDENTS of child welfare problems in the United States are familiar with the ambiguity attaching to the word "child." It will be recalled that under the common law the age at which a child passed out from guardianship varied with the kind of tenure and with other conditions surrounding the child. The statutes regulating child labor, delinquency, dependency, school attendance of children, and so forth, fix different ages of responsibility in connection with the special interest involved. In view of these uncertainties and ambiguities the article by Ministerialrat Dr. Hans Maier of Dresden in a recent number of the *Zentralblatt für Jugendwohlfahrt* is of special interest to American social workers.

Dr. Maier notes that a child becomes "of age" four different times, namely, on his sixteenth, eighteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first birthdays. His sixteenth birthday gives him the privilege of swearing to an oath and of entering into employment. His eighteenth birthday takes him from the jurisdiction of the juvenile court and makes him liable to punishment to the full extent of the law for any offense he may commit. His twentieth birthday gives him the right to vote. Finally, with his twenty-first birthday, he attains his civil majority and may conduct his affairs as he sees fit.

Since the period of the inflation, when most of the small property-owners lost their wealth, the twenty-one-year majority has been applicable only to that relatively small portion of the population who managed to retain a family fortune. As the heirs in such families are frequently still in college on reaching their twenty-first birthday and are thus not in

position to exercise their civil rights (or, indeed, are prevented from so doing by special testamentary provision for extended guardianship), the twenty-one-year majority is of little use even to them.

Moreover, the twenty-one-year majority makes the twenty-year majority appear not only useless but absurd, for it recognizes a man as capable of making decisions concerning the welfare of others when he is twenty, but incapable of making decisions concerning his own welfare until he is twenty-one.

Even more contradictory is the assumption that a youth of eighteen is a fully responsible individual with respect to his relation to society and his liability to punishment to the full extent of the law, although he is not sufficiently responsible to exercise political rights with regard to this social responsibility until he is twenty, and civil rights until he is twenty-one.

With regard to the sixteen-year majority for the swearing of oaths, it is, however, equally evident that he may still be incompetent, because of lack of experience, to discriminate between simple truth and truth embroidered by imagination and fantasy. Nor is there any good reason why a child should be allowed to swear an oath before he has reached his civil and political majority.

It would not be impossible to extend employment protection beyond the sixteenth year. Denmark, France, Austria, Switzerland, and the Netherlands already afford some measure of protection, especially as regards night work, to employees up to the eighteenth year.

These different German "majorities" were, according to Dr. Maier, adopted at various times to meet various specific needs; but their lack of consistency makes them incongruous, and, under the present circumstances, to some extent useless and even unjust. Three of the four could be eliminated, and it would seem reasonable to retain the political majority, the twentieth birthday, as the only and complete coming of age. The law could still provide for withholding the privileges of majority under certain circumstances until the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth year.

AN INTERESTING account has reached us of the provision for vacations for children on a large scale in Germany. According to a recent report of the German Central Society for Providing Vacations for Children, a semiofficial agency, there are in Germany 1,300 vacation colonies with accommodations for 100,000 children at any one time. Every year 370,000 school children, that is, one-tenth of the school population of Germany, are given vacations at these colonies, which have cared for about four million children since the organization of the agency in 1917. This work is done by private welfare societies in co-operation with public

social insurance agencies, municipalities, and other organizations. There are various methods of arranging these vacations. About 70,000 children are sent annually to rural families; children who, although not sick, are in need of medical supervision are sent to special rest homes; ordinary rest homes are provided for healthy children; and a new arrangement is the establishment of so-called "forest schools," by which entire classes, with the teachers, are transferred to the country for several months. The railroads, which in Germany belong to the government, furnish free transportation to children sent on vacations. Especially important is the follow-up system which has been established for the purpose of checking up the effects of the vacations. It was found that vacations spent near the children's homes produced good effects in 40 per cent of the cases, whereas a complete change of climate and environment produced good effects in 90 per cent of the cases.

TRAGIC stories of the misery of the English and Welsh miners and their families in what are now called "distressed areas" continue to occupy space in the English papers. One correspondent of the London *Times* who had seen much of the relief work of the Society of Friends told of one of the workers who had become so accustomed to work in the coal fields that he could

spare a thought from the starvation of the body to the starvation of the mind—could turn, that is to say, from the past and present, to their consequences in the future. There is a peculiar poignancy in his quoted cases of gifted children who have been compelled to relinquish the chance of putting their talents to good account. A clever boy, for example, splendidly gained a scholarship; but to hold it he must make periodical journeys to Cardiff, and there was no money to pay for those journeys. He could not seize the prize he had won; the opportunity for which he had toiled was snatched away, and on the loss of heart and will a deep silence descends.

Distance is, indeed, a desperate condition of existence in the long, straggling valleys of the Rhondda. Things being as they are, it prevents some of the most-needed institutions from becoming as useful as they should be. A mother is asked why she does not take her suffering child to a certain clinic; and the sufficient answer is that the tramway fares would cost 6d. The unawakened imagination, habituated to a background where lurks resource, may suggest that surely somebody would lend the 6d. Again comes the answer that the Rhondda possesses no better-off background, that its resources have long been stretched beyond the limit, that even the few who earn a pound or two a week are, without exception, struggling under their own burden of debt. So from month to month life is lived on this narrow scale.

Mining townships and villages that were once prosperous have drifted into a state of extreme misery, destitution, and hopelessness. South Wales

is said to have "the worst outlook within living memory." Miss Margaret Bondfield, M.P., brought in a bill to provide shoes at public expense for necessitous children. Various relief efforts are under way, but at this distance and to an American social worker the government seemed cruelly slow as the winter days passed.

REMEMBERING how greatly America is indebted to France in connection with the early care of the blind, a recent French survey of the methods for adjusting the blind to occupational opportunities is of special interest. This survey, which was conducted by Professor P. Villey, of the Caen faculty and secretary of the Association Valentin Haüy, has been published in *Le Musée Social*. Professor Villey points out that, while France gave to the education of the blind the pioneer services of Valentin Haüy (1743-1822) and of Louis Braille (1809-52), both in the education and in the occupational adjustment of blind persons, other countries, notably Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, have now gone far ahead of France. He recognizes that such services are costly, but pleads for such preliminary study of the subject as will prepare France to forge ahead when her industrial and financial situation has become sounder than it has been during recent years.

THE Contribution of Economics to the Field of Social Work" is the interesting subject of a series of lectures to be given by Professor Amy Hewes, of Mt. Holyoke College, at the New York School of Social Work this spring on a newly established Forbes Lectureship. The subjects that Professor Hewes has announced for her lectures indicate an extremely valuable contribution to the general field. These subjects and the dates on which the lectures are to be given are as follows: March 25, The Rate of Economic Change; March 26, The Measurement of Economic Data; March 27, What Can a Community Afford?; April 1, The Bargaining Power of Groups and Individuals; April 2, Economic Myths; April 9, Looking Backward and Forward.

A YEAR BOOK OF SOCIAL WORK under the editorship of Dr. Fred S. Hall is announced by the Russell Sage Foundation. Each year an increasing amount of space has been given to social work in such annuals as the *American Year Book*, the *New International Year Book*, and the *American Annual*. Taken together they print articles on thirty-two different national organizations in the field of social work, and additional articles on forty-two topics in that field. It is announced that the new Year Book will not only include such organizations and topics and give them more uniformly adequate treatment from the standpoint of social work,

but it will also cover many subjects in the field of social service which these general annuals do not attempt to cover.

An advisory board is to assist in the preparation of the new annual, but its membership has not been announced. The Russell Sage Foundation has requested suggestions from those members of the professional group who in the past have had difficulty in obtaining current information concerning their own or allied fields of work.

DURING the session of Congress expiring March 4, there were two congressional hearings of interest to social workers. One, which took place before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the U.S. Senate on February 1, was on the "Equal Rights Amendment," which is being urged as a method of securing greater justice to women and a better order generally. Those who oppose the amendment, which declares that "*Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation,*" do so chiefly on the ground of its ambiguity and the resulting chaotic condition of the law on several subjects in which social workers have great concern, such as mothers' aid laws and laws regulating hours of work for women.

The arguments presented in favor of the amendment were to the effect (1) that equal rights should be a fundamental governmental principle, (2) that a national amendment is the best way of securing equal rights, (3) that it is more conclusive than state legislation, (4) as well as more permanent and less costly. The arguments against the amendment were briefly summarized in the following statement by Professor Ernst Freund, of the University of Chicago Law School:

Since legal differences between men and women involve doubts whether there is privilege or disability, the statement that men and women are equal without indicating whether equalization shall be in one direction or other will raise insoluble questions. It also leaves uncertain whether equality extends to husband and wife and if so what such equality means. No other constitutional provision is drawn in similarly ambiguous terms. The result may be judicial construction making provision merely directory to Congress with consequent confusion of State and Federal powers. Even those favoring the purpose of the amendment should reject the proposed form.

The Hearing on the so-called Newton bill was also of special interest. The "Newton" bill¹ is designed to provide in the U.S. Children's Bureau an infancy and maternity service that might replace the Sheppard-

¹ See also this *Review*, II, 505.

Towner law, which it was feared would be allowed to lapse at the end of the current year, i.e., June 30. The Newton bill provides for a child welfare extension service in the Children's Bureau, "to promote the welfare and hygiene of mothers and children and aid in the reduction of infant and maternal mortality."

At this hearing before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on January 24 and 25, evidence was given by those supporting the measure that since the enactment of the Sheppard-Towner law there had been a reduction in both maternal and infant mortality, and a greatly increased knowledge of how mothers and babies should be cared for. The results were presented of several country-wide surveys made by impartial organizations, such as the American Child Health Association and the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, to the effect that there was still great need of continued assistance on the part of the federal government in this field and that the government had given very large sums to other services of no greater importance. Those opposed, however, to the Sheppard-Towner Act and to the Newton bill urged that the latter was even more dangerous than the former. The arguments so often urged against the Sheppard-Towner Act, such as the absurd charge of its supporters being financed from Moscow, were again elaborately urged against this, making a general impression that of the two the Sheppard-Towner was the less objectionable. The effect of this argument was, however, not what its proponents sought. The conclusion drawn by the Committee was to the effect that the Sheppard-Towner would better be continued, and a recommendation to that effect was presented by the Committee to the House. It was then too late to secure provision at that session of Congress for its continuance, but there is ground for confident hope that such action will be taken at the special session of Congress called for April 15.

THE Unique Status of the Red Cross among National Social Agencies" is the title of a brief article in the last number of the *Red Cross Courier*, dealing with a note published in the December number of this *Review*. We are glad to give space to the Red Cross statement:

Commenting on the final report of the Red Cross relief operations in the Mississippi Valley flood area, the *Social Service Review*, a quarterly published by the University of Chicago, which is devoted to the scientific and professional interests of social work, expressed the view that some of its readers "will certainly raise the question whether vast disaster relief of this sort should be in the hands of a private organization—even one that fulfills its trust."

Vice Chairman James L. Fieser's attention was brought to this comment. He said that while the Red Cross is in a very real sense a private agency, sup-

ported through individual membership contributions, it has a unique status among national social agencies. Mr. Fieser continued:

"It has its genesis through international treaty, namely, the Treaty of Geneva and its later amendments. Its status in the United States rests upon Congressional Charter. One-third of its governing body, the Central Committee, is appointed by the President of the United States. Its Chairman, one of this number, is annually appointed by the President. The Solicitor General of the United States is, in practice, its attorney. Five Government departments—State, War, Navy, Treasury and Justice—are included in representation on this Central Committee.

"In time of stress all Government departments, by executive order and otherwise, lend their assistance to the Red Cross. Every cent of its expenditures is audited by the War Department. It is the only national social agency in America recognized as semi-governmental, and included in the Congressional Directory and other public documents, such as the Statistical Abstract of the United States published by the Department of Commerce. It is the only agency recognized as having specific authority to carry on specific duties in Army and Navy stations as embodied in printed regulations. Its President is the President of the United States.

"While the Red Cross has all of these semi-governmental attributes and every element of governmental support in time of stress, as evidenced at the time of the Mississippi flood, and every safeguard so far as expenditure is concerned, it has, in the opinion of many, made a contribution in constructive relief principles by reason of its popular character and freedom from limitations, which often exist in official bodies of a governmental character. It was this flexibility which enabled the Red Cross during the War to meet emergency more promptly than the slower moving regulations of the Army and Navy often permitted. At the same time, all of its expenditures had the protection of a double audit—that of the Red Cross accountants and of the War Department auditors.

"In other words, I take this opportunity to point out that the Red Cross is semi-governmental at the same time it is a private agency; that it has strength in flexibility and popular support; its Roll Calls and the contributions of the public to its disaster appeals are, in each instance, funds of confidence which have mounted as the need required; and, finally, it has been able to reach into the frontiers of social need with such gradation and advance in social and health methods as the circumstances warranted and the local situation could digest.

"When disaster strikes, the net work of 3,500 Chapters, combined with the National Organization, and its day-by-day work in a variety of fields, such as public health nursing, nursing enrollment, soldier work, home service, first aid home hygiene and care of the sick, et al, constitute a mechanism of growing skill and efficiency which may doubtless improve as extensively in the ensuing decade as in the past."

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Work and the Training of Social Workers. By SYDNOR H. WALKER.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928. Pp. xiii +
241. \$2.00.

Here is a book of honest opinion on questions central to the interest of the professional social workers of this and other countries. Although the author explains that "This study was made in the belief that a lay opinion about social work and the education of social workers might have certain advantages in interpreting these enterprises to a non-professional group," one may venture the suggestion that the book will mean far more as an interpretation of "these enterprises" to the professional than the non-professional group. Dr. Walker claims to be a layman in that she has neither been a social worker nor instructed social workers, but during the last several years she has had intimate and extensive contact with social workers, schools of social work, and conference bodies. She has had the experience of looking into the minds of social workers as they were advancing their plans for the improvement and growth of social work. And now, although she does not speak its argot, she certainly speaks its literary language. It might seem that she has been enveloped by social work, perhaps in spite of herself.

The principal contribution of this book lies in its synthetic approach to the subject. It is pointed out that thinking in social work has been fragmentary and piecemeal, that its policy has been that of seeing a head and knocking it. Objectives have been immediate and practical; methods have been improvised. Neither has been set against a broad background of social philosophy or an assembling of facts from a wide area or a detached and scientific observation of society. In her setting forth of the problems of social work and the training of social workers, the author attempts to do what she counsels that others should do. She tries to see all sides of the situation. First, she discusses the practical basis of social work in the needs of people, handicapped, distressed, unhappy. She next sets out the reasons why the more fortunate members of society concern themselves about the problems of the rest. Those actuated by group feelings—religious, racial, fraternal—those embracing an abstract ideal of democracy and social justice, those who deplore the waste and confusion which the socially non-productive members of society can create, and those who have recently developed a scientific interest in exploring the possibilities of modifying human lives constitute the body of adherents to social work, both contributors and professionals. While these are the conscious motives, the unconscious motives growing out of the personal misfortunes, disappointments, and drab-

ness of the lives of these adherents "may frequently" have led them to seek an outlet in the lives of others. Next follows discussion of the sources of financial support covering the philanthropic character of social work as distinguished from service paid for by clients, the division of the burdens and duties between taxpayers and givers, the needs for social work growing out of the profit economy now prevailing, and the relation of such support to the evolution of a general program of social welfare sponsored by the state.

Many phases of the social workers' actual and potential contribution to the development of the community's general welfare program—"which will uproot present evils and will provide for a more satisfactory future society"—are reviewed. Sections follow on characteristic activities of social work, the interpretation, such as it is, of social work by social workers, the distribution of personnel in the different fields of work and geographical areas, and the education, experience, and compensation of social workers. The last third of the book deals with needs for and methods of training, the organization of schools of social work, and social work and the social sciences. The author has made a real effort to reach around her subject.

Like most of those compelled by the problem to use materials from fields with which one is not thoroughly familiar, the author incurs risks. These she bravely takes and has done the best she could to make use of what information is now available. Almost inevitably a few casualties occur. On page 51, it is stated

An approximate estimate of New York State appropriations during 1926-27 for various welfare activities (including institutions, state prisons, and parks, hospitals, playgrounds, reformatories) is about \$130,000,000. Of this amount, sixty-two million is distributed by the Board of Child Welfare, thirty-four million by the state board of charities, and over seventeen million for state institutions.

In 1926 the expenditures of all boards of child welfare, which are supported solely by county funds, amounted to \$6,847,000. While accuracy on this point is not essential to the author's trend of reasoning in the text, it should perhaps be said that if sixty-two million dollars had ever been distributed through boards of child welfare in New York State in one year, Isaiah himself could not prophesy the results! One shudders to think of the effect on the mortality of worthless husbands and fathers!

Although this book teems with the most provocative interpretations of social work affairs, one looks in vain for discussion of a condition which, it seems to the reviewer, has assumed a very great importance in the whole social work field and which conditions to a very large degree many phases of social work upon which the author touches. It bears directly both on the questions of increasing expenditures and on need for better education. This is the ambition of social workers and their friends on boards of directors to do a superior job for the individual client, on the assumption that such a piece of work has both remedial and preventive aspects. They hold that that which is truly "remedial"

for the parents may be preventive of ills for the children. But to be truly remedial is often an expensive and exacting piece of work. The need for the particular kind of service in question may not be greater in bulk in the community, in fact it may even be proportionately less than in times gone by; but expenditures may increase for the simple reason that those in positions of responsibility and power to raise money have arrived at the conclusion that unless the work is well done, it is scarcely worth doing at all.

The whole change in America from the deficit to the surplus economy probably underlies this change of attitude. Once it was a real job to keep hunger at bay. Now we take that for granted and go in for mental health. Certainly this tendency toward a deepening of service has operated powerfully over the whole field of the care of dependent children and on family welfare.

In the opinion of this reviewer, it is wholly fallacious to conclude from the mounting bills for philanthropy that there is "growing need," considered as a static condition, in the community. The concept of what people need is highly flexible and grows or recedes as the underlying economic condition of society changes and as sympathetic imagination develops in wealth or is restricted in poverty. It might well be questioned whether our mounting bills for philanthropy are an evidence of poverty or an evidence of wealth. One would like to think that they are an evidence of wealth put to work to wipe out the differences in opportunity to enjoy health and to secure education and to promote positive happiness and general worth-whileness of living. To what better use could the surplus be put? The real problem is, not the mounting expenditures, but the results secured for them.

One of the squirrel cages to which the author does well to call attention has to do with remuneration.

The matter of salaries is crucial to the development of social work. As long as the public does not give high rating to the services performed by the social worker and does not accept the idea that salaries must be on a competitive basis with vocations requiring prolonged educational preparation and high mental qualifications, social work will probably not draw the type of person who will command social esteem. . . .

The point is here made that the type of worker found in the field is definitely explained by the attitude of the public toward social work. The attitude of the public is in turn determined by observing social workers as they are. The low salary scale, which has been fastened upon as a prime factor in limiting personnel selection, has a profound reaction upon educational preparation for social work, and educational preparation affects equally the quality of social work done and the public attitude toward social workers and their activities. The circle must be broken, and the logical place for breaking it is to recognize the need of a flexible salary scale.

Page the community chest authorities. Will they, as the group most powerful in social work finance, not rescue us from this dreary round?

Related to salaries are social workers' motives. The author points out that Within these four groups [enumerated previously] there are many who, if asked to state their motives for being engaged in social work, would indicate that they held one

or another of these attitudes toward the misfortunes of others. As far as they are conscious of their motives they will answer correctly. But the leading motive may frequently be found only in their own lives. Social work has regularly absorbed, both as contributors and as professionals, men and women whose personal misfortunes, disappointments, or colorless lives have led them to seek an outlet in the lives of others. In such cases self-interest is to be recognized as a factor. No criticism is justified on this score unless the results are bad. Yet when social organizations seek to effect an adjustment for their contributors or workers at the same time that they are carrying out a relief program, they are seldom entirely successful. . . .

There may seem to be no persistent reason why the various motives noted should produce confusion in the methods and objectives of social work. The religious motive and the abstract ethical motive arrive at about the same position; emphasis upon the practical advantage to society of taking care of all its members may lead to a program exactly similar to that based upon either of the first-mentioned motives. There is, furthermore, a connecting link between the common-sense motive and the scientific, in that the actual workings of society must be observed and used as the basis of both programs. Certainly the disparity in motives seems no wider than that found in all professions from the ministry to government, and in certain of these a definite and satisfactory status has been achieved. Why, then, are diverse motives held responsible for the weaknesses of the social work program?

It would be more accurate to say that diverse motives in attacking the vast province of social maladjustments produce confusion because there is no common program. Possibly a program may be drawn which would make profitable use of groups having varied interests and motivation, but recognition of common purposes must, of necessity, determine the program. Two lawyers might give widely different reasons for practicing law; yet there should not be great difficulty in securing from them a statement as to the scope and function of the law. But two social workers representing opposite interests, on the one hand, of reform for the glory of religion, and on the other, of research into human affairs for the enrichment of science, would present extremes in outlook upon social work which might prevent apperception of common interests. The combination of diverse motives and an undefined field of activity brings forth uncertain methods and objectives as its fruits.

Would this discussion have been clarified a little if there had been comparison on the same level between the motives of groups of professionals? Are there not at least three levels into which motives may be classified: one, purely personal motives, conscious or unconscious; two, the objectives as articulated by professional groups; and three, ultimate and final motives. If one parallels the lawyer and the social worker, might they not run along somewhat in this fashion?

Lawyer

PERSONAL

Social Worker

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wants to function in a respected profession. 2. Needs to earn a living. 3. Hopes to become a great constitutional lawyer whose cases will be cited by future generations. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wants to function in a profession that provides warm and sympathetic human contacts. 2. Needs to earn a living. 3. Hopes to become known as a great beneficent social engineer. |
|--|--|

Lawyer

Social Worker

ARTICULATION OF GROUP OBJECTIVES

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Protection of life and property. 2. Equitable adjustment of disputes between individuals and groups. 3. Growth of law as a means to social stability and peace. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adjustment of individuals to their social environment. 2. Modification of adverse environments. |
|--|---|

ULTIMATE MOTIVES

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Concept of "law" as related to supreme forces governing the universe. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Concept of love of humanity as related to the supreme forces governing the universe. |
|--|---|

Probably because social workers themselves have talked so much about their "higher" motives they have tended to promote the confusion arising when motives on different levels are compared. It would be healthy if social workers would openly admit their personal motives. There is really no reason to be ashamed of them. Moreover, if one recognizes a broad basis of motivation, it tends to remove the question of remuneration to a place where it can be discussed without confusion with ideas which play havoc with any kind of orderly and scientific adjustment of salaries.

One of the reading habits of the reviewer is to turn down the corners of pages and to make marginal notes against particularly arresting passages. In the earlier chapters of the book some pages have thus been defaced, but toward the end, where the author discusses the problems of training and education for social work and the relation of social work and the social sciences, almost all the pages become dog-eared. If the author's prodding succeeds in any degree in getting social workers and social scientists to work together, she will have served her country well. The next time she writes a book on this subject she should find far more and better materials for her orientation chapters.

On the whole, social work can, if it will, profit enormously from Dr. Walker's representation of her observations and opinions. One can see this book acting as a powerful stimulant on complacent social workers to apply themselves to the task of digging out more facts and making more experiments with situations to prove or modify her conclusions. Not the least of these is her concluding prediction that social work will not as a profession be the place where the social engineers of the future will be systematically recruited.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF

WELFARE COUNCIL OF
NEW YORK CITY

Legislative Functions of National Administrative Authorities. By JOHN PRESTON COMER. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. 274. \$4.00.

Mr. Comer was well advised not to forego the publication of his dissertation by reason of the appearance of Mr. Hart's *Essay on the Ordinance-Making*

Powers of the President, which came out when his own work was practically done; we should have lost an excellent discussion of a subject which is not likely to be soon exhausted. It is perhaps an advantage which Mr. Comer has over Mr. Hart that he does not place the president's power in the foreground; this also makes it possible to give a rather subordinate place to the constitutional aspects of the rule-making power, which are apt to monopolize attention and which in effect count for very much less than other phases less conspicuous in judicial decisions.

Besides the chapter on constitutional aspects, there are others on distinctions and classification, on the history of administrative legislation, on interpretative regulations, on the safeguard of judicial control, and on the political safeguards of publicity and of group opinion. Under the latter head the author treats the precautions voluntarily adopted in the framing of regulations, and a good deal of valuable material is brought together from the practice of rule-making departments and commissions in recent times.

The extent to which Congress has had recourse to the delegation of regulative power is set forth in the chapter on history, which indicates that we get a historical rather than an analytical synopsis; while the value of the former is not to be denied, a clearer view of the place of administrative regulation in the economy of legislation would be gained if an attempt were made to classify the subject matters of regulation and the nature of the governmental powers which they serve. Thus on page 49 it is stated that although for nearly a quarter-century the secretary of agriculture exercised within the terms of law a power to establish standards of agricultural products, such standards are now set up in detail by statute (citing 32 Stat. 1158, 1903, and 42 Stat. 1500, 1923). Is it not true that under the Act of 1903 the standards were merely for information and voluntary acceptance, while the standards set by Congress itself are legally binding? It would seem that this is a very vital difference, accounting for delegation and non-delegation, respectively.

For the purpose of tracing functional differences, however, a mere examination of statutes is not sufficient, for the terms of delegation are frequently perfunctory, neutral, and unilluminating; what we want to know is whether and to what extent regulation goes beyond minor detail and deals with matter that might legitimately be incorporated in the statute itself—a distinction which would lose some of its apparent indefiniteness by a closer analysis of the content of administrative rules. Such an analysis would perhaps be a formidable undertaking, if attempted on a very comprehensive scale; but it would be a relatively simple matter if confined to selected branches of administration. Limitations voluntarily observed by administrative authorities are more instructive than sporadically imposed judicial limitations.

The scope of an inquiry naturally lies within the discretion of the author; and that more might have been done does not detract from the value of what has been done. We are grateful for Mr. Comer's contribution; but further work is required for an adequate estimate of the place and function of administrative regulation. It is perhaps true that the subject can be adequately treated only

as a minor phase of legislative regulation, and that until the legal aspects of the latter are better systematized we shall not be able to get a proper perspective of the former.

ERNST FREUND

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LAW SCHOOL

Formen persönlicher Fürsorge in den Vereinigten Staaten. By DR. HANS SCHERPNER. Reprint from *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege*. Published by Franz Vahlen: Berlin, 1928. I (1926-27), 509-22; II (1927-28), 26-34, 69-81, 120-30.

Dr. Hans Scherpner's analysis of social case work in the United States, which first appeared in the German publication, *Freie Wohlfahrtspflege*, is a valuable contribution to theory and practice not only for Germany but for students of case work in this country. Substantial evidence of familiarity with the literature in both countries is demonstrated by well-selected illustrations of tendencies and of fundamental problems in case work. It will afford satisfaction to American social workers that Dr. Scherpner evaluates so highly the contribution which case work is making to scientific social work.

The text of the monograph begins with an introduction which includes a translation of Number 6 of the "Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies," the case of John Smith. The case record selected is representative, according to Dr. Scherpner, of the best in theory and in practice, in spite of the fact that it does not present an instance of successful treatment. A critical examination and evaluation of the aims and methods of social case work in the United States is followed by a discussion of the problems involved in adapting American theory and technique to the German situation.

Dr. Scherpner believes that the aim of social case work is closely related with the *Weltanschauung*—the general ideals dominating American society. These ideals, he believes, may be designated as the theory of "Americanization" and the theory of "democratic equality." It is his assumption that a conception of human adjustability related in large part to the need for a reorganization of life and culture of diverse alien peoples has naturally been created because a large fraction of social problems involve immigrants and their families. Uniform standards of culture, of social behavior, and of essential economic requirements are generally adhered to by case workers. Indicative of these theories are the attempted case plans of adjustment of the individual and family to social standards which are presumed to exist. An associated principle is the belief in the value of every personality which the author traces to romantic democratic notions. The relationship of case worker and client is thus conceived as that of democratic equals in an unstratified social order.

Problem analysis in case work takes into account the influences of environmental as well as personal factors. The case worker seeks for an understanding of the individual problems through an interpretation of social situation and dynamic personality. The technique of social case work, which Dr. Scherpner believes can be successfully adapted to German life, would meet with social ideals which do not derive from the need for adjustment of diverse cultures or from the democratic principle of equality. The author minimizes the cultural changes and social dislocations caused by a shift from rural to urban industrial life as an aspect of current German social problems. A further distinction is drawn by the author between American aims and the emphasis upon state systems of welfare in Germany. He believes that the acceptance of state or community responsibility for individual welfare has resulted in a tutelary relationship between the state representative and the client seeking service, which differs radically from the case worker's approach to his client in the United States. Notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Scherpner impresses upon the German social worker the dangers of bureaucratic and arbitrary assumptions of authority toward the destinies of the client, the laborious technique of maintaining democratic equality, which our social workers employ, strikes him humorously.

In my opinion Dr. Scherpner has based his analysis of American theory largely upon Mary Richmond's *Social Diagnosis*, and has thereby overemphasized the "democratic" character of worker-client relationships. Although similar notions have been repeatedly expressed in American social-work literature, in actual practice a viewpoint more closely allied to the German theory is to be found. To a certain extent social work in this country both in its public and in its private aspects is recognized as the expression of the community's interests in the welfare of the individual, and social case workers represent to their clients some measure of professional authority in transmitting to them the aims and standards of the community at large.

It might also be questioned whether the theory of adjustment of personality is entirely related to the "Americanization" problems. Much of value in current case-work practice relates to the philosophy of pragmatism and an individualistic social psychology, which offer a more realistic approach to human problems than does German sociology, still heavily encrusted with the metaphysical abstractions of Kant and Hegel.

The method of case work considered of primary value consists of intensive service to the individual through well-organized analysis and persistent and detailed case treatment. The intensive service afforded individuals, Dr. Scherpner believes due to the generally prosperous conditions in the United States, which allow for more adequate professional service than post-war Germany with its mass problems permits. The social democratic platform in Germany and in other European countries has resulted in the development of comprehensive state measures of relief for various classes of dependents. Such large-scale organ-

zation and administrative policies have been little concerned with the individual variations within the problem group. Again, in the opinion of the reviewer, it is possibly in the laggard development of state measures for promoting welfare rather than in the other reasons offered by Dr. Scherpner, that philanthropic interest has turned to intensive case work with the results noted.

The situation in Germany offers a number of obstacles to the development of social case work. Not only the underlying social philosophy and the lack of financial resources, but the character of professional personnel makes the achievement of modern case-work methods in Germany exceptionally difficult. In the training offered to social workers in Germany by the *Frauenschulen*,¹ the emphasis has been upon practical information and acquaintance with existing empirical processes of social work. Much of the time of the two-year training period, therefore, is given over to pedagogical methods more suitable for apprenticeship in trades than in professions. There is a consequent lack of interest in the evolution of fundamental principles and theories of social problems and social administration. The system of state examinations and certification has further contributed to this result. German social workers are, therefore, by motivation and training ill prepared to make research contributions to the philosophy or practice of social work. Dr. Scherpner believes further that training more nearly related to that offered in the United States by the graduate universities with the creation of research based upon intensive case work with a fraction of the mass problems offers the best possibilities for the improvement of social work in Germany.

It is noteworthy that social case work is valued by an individual with the critical approach of Dr. Scherpner as a desirable technique added to the systems of state welfare, for which Germany is pre-eminent. It is being recognized in the United States that further community organization and increased state apparatus are desirable for the promotion of individual and family well-being. We may infer from Dr. Scherpner's discussion that as such programs are organized the experience derived from social case work must not be disregarded. Rather than imitating European social-welfare methods, public systems integrating the values both of large-scale state organization and the technique of individualized case work would seem a better way of meeting the problems of health, dependency, social behavior, and other maladjustments in the United States.

H. L. LURIE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ [A discussion of the problem of education for social work in Germany and particularly of the "Frauenschulen" by Dr. Scherpner will be found in an earlier number of this *Review*, II (December, 1928), 555-64.]

Your Nervous Child: A Guide for Parents and Teachers. By ERWIN WEXBERG, M.D. Translation by WALTER BÉRAN WOLFE, M.D. New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1927. Pp. xiv+178. \$1.75.

Guidance of Childhood and Youth: Readings in Child Study. Compiled by the Child Study Association of America; edited by BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG. New York: Macmillan Co., 1926. Pp. xii+324. \$1.50.

The parental education movement has created an unprecedented demand for reliable reading matter on the subject of child care. These two volumes attempt—independently, to be sure—to supply the bewildered parent some measure of understanding of child nature and child guidance. Dr. Wexberg (*Your Nervous Child*) speaks as a clinician from a rich experience in psychiatric work with children in Vienna. Dr. Gruenberg (*Guidance of Childhood and Youth*), on the other hand, merely edits a miscellany of good, bad, and indifferent “readings,” the opinions and findings of a number of experts on the subject of human behavior.

The standpoint of Dr. Wexberg's book is essentially that of Alfred Adler of Vienna, with whom the writer has been associated. Individual psychology (better known in this country as “inferiority” psychology) is the key to an understanding of the child's “soul.” The treatment has been reduced to its simplest terms and comprises three well-rounded chapters on the symptoms, causes, and treatment of “nervousness” in children. While the manifestations of “nervousness” may take the form of disturbances of nutrition and urination, night terrors, stuttering, masturbation, lying, etc., the basic condition, as Dr. Wolfe characterizes it in the translator's preface, is that of “a child who has lost courage to fight his way through, or is struggling along the wrong road.”

Chief among the causes of “nervousness” in children Wexberg lists: the feeling of inferiority, the fatherless boy, the youngest child, the only child, sex, the spoiled child, egoism of parents, vain mothers, etc. With almost uncanny insight he explains how bodily infirmities (e.g., hare-lip, prominent ears, protruded sickness, etc.) strengthen the feeling of inferiority and cause the child to be “nervous.” It is not too much to say of his treatment of sex as a cause of “nervousness” and psychic homosexuality that it is the best and most straightforward explanation anywhere accessible to the layman.

The chief prophylaxis and cure for “nervousness” in children (except, of course, where it is due to organic causes), Wexberg insists, is “correct” education, the task of which is “to do everything that can help a child become an independent and courageous man ready and prepared to adapt himself to the community to which he belongs, and to render his best service where he has chosen to serve.” Independence and courage are the keynotes of this “correct” education. The author is averse to marks and reports, yet he would “blame mildly and praise in a friendly fashion.” He adduces new arguments against all forms of punishment and shows the utter futility of moralizing. He concludes

his effective plea for freedom and early psychological weaning of the child by the rather paradoxical statement that "children should be treated like adults, not as children."

There is only one major point upon which we differ with Dr. Wexberg, and that is with regard to his assumption that only the physician is competent to deal with these functional forms of "nervousness" in children. If parents and teachers cannot, sooner or later, learn to deal with most of these difficulties, then progress under our system of family life is impossible. To foster such intelligent understanding of these matters on the part of the average parent is, after all, the *raison d'être* of the parental education movement.

Turning to Dr. Gruenberg's book of readings (*Guidance of Childhood and Youth*) one finds much more to criticize, in spite of its many excellencies. The Child Study Association of America set out to provide a book of readings as a sequel to its very successful *Outlines of Child Study*. Some thirty people helped select appropriate materials from "over a hundred different volumes." The selections were then "boiled down," edited, and submitted to various persons for criticism; and, in many cases, they were tried out on several study groups. The chief criticism of this volume has to do with the almost complete omission of materials from the fields of sociology, social psychology, and psychiatry. For instance, one finds not a single selection from any one of the following notable contributors to the literature and practice of child guidance: Adler (Alfred), Wile, Thomas, Kempf, McDougall, Healy, Burt, Adler (Herman), Thom, Lowrey, *et al.* Such omissions suggest that Mr. Gruenberg and his associates were either ignorant of these contributions or else possessed of a deep-seated antipathy for the particular behavioristic philosophy which they represent. Such a biopsychological top-heaviness as the materials represent explains the poverty-stricken appearance of such important chapters as "Fear," "Adolescence," "Social Environment," etc.

After all, the most important contribution of a book of readings is its principle of selection. Child study is of necessity eclectic, involving as it does all of the many facets of the behavior process. Books of readings intended for wide circulation among laymen ought to be edited by a committee of experts with different viewpoints, rather than by a single specialist with a decidedly organic slant.

Your Nervous Child, oddly enough, is a small (12mo), attractive volume in large type, very well written. *The Guidance of Childhood and Youth*, on the contrary, is large and forbidding, in small type, and sometimes very technical language. The former is a guide to parents and teachers, and deserves a wide circulation. The latter is essentially a source book for students and study-group leaders; but even so it really needs a careful revision.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Avant-Projects de la Loi Pénale Relative aux Crimes et Délits et de la Loi sur les Contraventions. I. Les Projets; II. Exposé des Motifs. Prague: L'Association tchécoslovaque de droit pénal, 1927. 2 vols. Pp. III; 168.

The Czechoslovak Association for Penal Law has published a French edition of the *Introduction and Explanation of the Penal Code* introduced and enacted into law by the Czechoslovak Assembly in 1926. This was done both that a larger number of persons in Europe and in America might be informed as to its contents and that the Association might benefit from criticisms and comments from various sources. The work on this draft was begun in 1920 as the result of a conference called by the Minister of Justice composed of members of the law faculties of the Czechoslovak universities and the higher judicial officers who agreed that it was necessary to unify the law which was a legacy from Austria and the law received from Hungary and to modernize such portions of these laws as were obviously out of date. For this purpose a special commission was created by the Minister of Justice with a professor of the University of Prague (Université Charles IV), Professor Auguste Mírčka, as chairman. That commission reported a draft in May, 1921, which was carefully analyzed and rigorously criticized, and the final draft embodies the response of the special commission to the criticism then evoked. The commission completed its work in 1925, when the explanation and final editing had been finished. The introduction to the law governing the treatment of crimes and misdemeanors is divided into nineteen chapters and contains 342 paragraphs, while the introduction to the law governing contraventions consists of one chapter and 67 paragraphs. Perhaps in a brief comment attention is better called to the explanation than to the details of the code.

It is intended in the first place that there shall be a criminal law that is a general law resting on parliamentary action, and not a law under which arbitrary decisions may be made or administrative additions at the discretion of administrative officials. Notice is taken of special situations like military science, the delinquency of young persons, for which provision is made in the code. These are, however, reduced to the lowest terms possible, for it is the theory of this code that with the fewest possible exceptions this law shall apply to all persons and all situations and shall be the common criminal law for the whole country.

Terms are defined carefully, and there is an interesting discussion of various offenses and of certain abstract questions, e.g., the basis of culpability. The discussions of the purpose and aim of punishment indicate familiarity with discussions of the psychology and social significance of crime. Notice is taken of the importance of social work and of the co-operation of the social worker in the treatment of accused and convicted persons.

The discussion of penalties is especially interesting. Capital punishment is rejected, as is flogging, about which the commission remarks: "Flogging per-

sists as a punishment in a number of countries, especially England, and is being re-established in others, but has not been retained in this project since it was thought that the danger of abuse would override any possible good that might be accomplished" (*Exposé*, p. 71).

The advisory committee or council is used in the administration of the law. The Minister of Justice has a central council made up of members from the legislature, from the government, and from experts. There is a council for each penal institution, presided over by a representative of the Department of Justice.

For each prison, too, there is a "tribunal," whose duties have to do with questions of internal administration. The indeterminate sentence is provided in certain cases. Interesting provisions about discipline within the prisons are found. The granting of credits, the deprivation of privileges, denial of food in specified ways, solitary confinement for weekly periods continuing not more than a month, illustrate disciplinary measures used within the institution, while attention is given to the employment and occupation of the prisoners.

There is an interesting discussion of the nature of the offenses of infanticide and abortion, of the conditions under which they are often committed, and of the consequent effect on the administration of any law penalizing them. In connection with both topics, the psychology of the expectant mother is sympathetically and intelligently discussed, and an attempt is made to frame legislation taking those factors into consideration.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Deutscher Sozialpolitik, 1918-1928. Erinnerungsschrift des Reichsarbeitsministeriums. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 1929. Pp. vi+319. M. 5.40.

In October of 1928 the German Ministry of Labor passed its first decade of existence. In celebration of the event this volume was published, setting forth the history and activities of the various aspects of the service. Since each section was evidently written up by an expert in his division, the book is an invaluable, brief account of the wide variety of measures embraced within that Ministry. A brief survey of the scope of the work, by Dr. Brauns, Minister from 1920 to 1928, is followed by an outline of the historical and legal development of the Ministry, its organization and functions, and its publications. Section I of the Ministry is concerned with general problems of administration; Section II handles social insurance; Section III cares for labor legislation and protection, and wage regulations; Section IV is charged with matters concerning the labor market, placement, the creation of opportunities for work, unemployment insurance, general problems of social politics, and international social legislation; Section V administers welfare and housing legislation. The main portion of the book treats the work of Sections II to V inclusive.

The chapter on social insurance gives a brief account of the development of pre-war legislation, war experience, and post-war reorganization. It covers the period from 1884, the date of the enactment of the first health insurance

measure, to the present, and includes the discussion of invalidity and old age, the salaried employees' special fund covering invalidity and old age pensions, and accident and health insurance. Health insurance includes today about one-third of the German population, covering more than thirteen million men and seven million women members, not including their dependents. Approximately one-ninth of them are voluntarily insured; and these show a higher rate of sickness, with longer duration, than those compulsorily included within the fund. In addition to the payment of benefits, preventive work is carried out and is considered the more important of the two functions of the system. It includes sanatorium and convalescent care for many types of diseases, medical treatment of all sorts, and maternity and infancy care.

Two chapters of this commemorative volume deal with the problems of protection of the labor contract and of the wage agreement—sketching the development and operation of the Works' Councils, of the Courts of Arbitration, and of laws for the protection of labor. The last named include legislation concerning the maximum length of the working-day, together with discussion of the extent to which the eight-hour day actually exists, Sunday rest, and special protection of certain occupations, such as industrial homework, hospital work, and occupations offering peculiar hazards of accident or disease. A chapter is given to the methods of setting minimum wages, which are more comparable to the British Trade Boards' measures than to our minimum wage machinery, but are not confined to poorly paid occupations. They cover a wide scope of occupations and more men than women workers. Once a wage agreement has been determined by the trade union and the employer, its terms may be extended throughout the occupation in the entire district or even nation, to organized and unorganized workers alike. These agreements remain in force usually for from six months to two years. The aim of the Ministry has been to assist real wages to return to their pre-war value; and today the skilled workers average about 90 per cent of their pre-war buying power, while the unskilled have attained the position which they held before 1914. The Ministry also attempts to strengthen the home market for goods by increasing the buying power of the worker and stimulating increased production.

The chapters dealing with the work of Section IV are rich in material on the wide experience of Germany in unemployment assistance, unemployment insurance, the employment exchanges, vocational guidance, the placement of apprentices, continuation schooling, and public works undertaken for the purpose of giving occupation to the unemployed. Brief history of legislation enacted is given in each case, together with the reasons for success or failure of the law and for its modification. The Employment Exchanges and Unemployment Insurance Law of 1927, for example, was the result of eighteen amendments of the executive orders on unemployment relief of November, 1918, and was the fourth subsequent law on the subject. The chapter on Germany's position in the International Labour Organization gives an astonishing number of draft conventions and recommendations that have been ratified.

Outline of the work of Section V, beginning with the taking over of care of

those injured in the war or left widowed or orphaned thereby, traces the relationship of the *Reich* to the states in the program of public welfare. In addition, it gives account of assistance to those who lost their funds in the inflation and to persons entitled to some form of social insurance whose claims vanished in that period or in the ensuing stabilization of the mark. It tells of aid to the handicapped, to necessitous minors, and to women in childbirth. Furthermore, there is discussion of the strict rent regulation legislation and of the large-scale efforts to encourage the building not only of single dwellings but of entire settlements, in order to meet the excessive post-war housing shortage.

The entire book is a rich mine of material on German social legislation, with the authority of the Ministry of Labor behind it and showing the particular interests of the experts in the various sections. It is in no sense of the word a propagandist volume, however. It does not need to be. The work of the Ministry of Labor impressed not only the reviewer of this volume who came to know it well last year but the thoughtful Americans to whom she was privileged to introduce some of its leading workers, as setting an exceedingly high level of performance in expert ability, flexibility and open-mindedness, and efficient and conscientious effort.

GOUCHER COLLEGE

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

El Huérfano (The Orphan). By ISMAEL VALDÉS VALDÉS. Imprenta Siglo XX, Santiago de Chile, 1928. Pp. 385.

Don Ismael Valdés Valdés, who is president of the Superior Council on Public Charity in Chile and who was president also of the Fourth Pan-American Child Congress, is a recognized authority in South America on social problems. *The Orphan* deals with modern methods of prevention and treatment of child dependency. The author suggests ways in which mothers and children may be kept together, including the establishment of maternity homes and other forms of aid to mothers and legislation authorizing the investigation of paternity and compulsory contribution by the father to a child born out of wedlock. Placement in family homes instead of institutions whenever possible and the authorization of legal adoption, a process not now recognized in Chilean law, are recommended. The author suggests that the Red Cross of Chile inaugurate a system of child-placing in connection with the orphan asylum in Santiago.

The book includes a description of methods employed by some of the leading cottage-plan institutions in the United States, but the author believes that children should be placed in institutions only when it is impossible to place them in private homes. These institutions should have attractive surroundings and a pleasant home atmosphere, and the children should receive individual consideration and treatment. The education and training of children in institutions are discussed in great detail, and the author suggests that the children be taught various agricultural pursuits, since more opportunities will be open to them for finding this kind of work.

Child welfare measures in other countries, especially in the United States, are generously referred to throughout the book, and the author urges his fellow-countrymen to take advantage of these experiences and to give to the orphan or deserted child "a better situation and greater pleasure in life."

KATHARINE F. LENROOT

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Village Life under the Soviets. By KARL BORDERS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. Pp. xxii+191. \$0.50.

The Jews and Other Minor Nationalities under the Soviets. By AVRAHAM YARMOLINSKY. New York: Vanguard Press, 1928. Pp. xiii+193. \$0.50.

In dealing with the Russian enigma the point of view is, of course, almost everything. Fact and figures are dependent upon the interpretation given them. Hence any conclusion about Russia's condition and prospects is certain to be strenuously challenged.

However, the two modest little books under notice here are as objective as it is humanly possible to be. The effort to ascertain and publish the truth is manifest; the success of that effort is, however, not quite complete.

Mr. Borders, who reads Russian, has lived and worked in Russian villages, and has no particular doctrine to grind, has written a most informing, intelligent, and sympathetic account of the rural life of Russia and the typical peasant. He follows older writers in his purely historical chapters, but in writing of the village of today, its work and its politics, its educational needs and facilities, its wants and its perplexities, he had the advantage of much direct observation and experience. He refrains from large generalizations and confident predictions, but he records considerable improvement in the village since the Communists assumed power. He finds new aspirations and new tendencies among the peasants. He finds them shrewd, critical of the government, but not hostile to it. It is true that the peasant has no objection to communism—in the city. Mr. Borders himself recognizes that in rural Russia communism is a mere pretense, or paper theory. The experiments of the government in agriculture are few and far between. Tractors are only beginning to change the peasant's primitive ways. The village is "on the eve," as so much else is in Russia. The peasants will not fight for the restoration of the monarchy, as Mr. Borders remarks, but they will not fight for the Bolsheviks either, if a constitutional and sincerely liberal régime should be established in the cities by the opponents of the dictatorship for the sacrosanct proletariat. By the way, Mr. Borders quite incorrectly speaks of "the revolution" and attributes whatever progress Russia has made in ten years to that beneficent event. He overlooks the non-Bolshevik revolutions and the work of the duma and the provisional cabinets. Most American writers fall into the same error. The Bolsheviks should not be credited with the achieve-

ments of the socialist-revolutionists, the Mensheviks, and even the non-socialist radicals and liberals.

Mr. Yarmolinsky's theme is more difficult than that of Mr. Borders, but he handles it with judgment, fairness, and a sense of reality. He explains the Marx-Lenin position on the rights of racial and nationalist minorities. He approves the demand for an autonomous Jewish state within the soviet system, but recognizes that the problem of assimilation will not be solved by that step. He is satisfied of the sincerity of the communists' policy of self-determination, while knowing that the practical obstacles in the way of that policy are grave and numerous. He is hopeful, but not too hopeful. Anti-Semitism is growing in Russia, despite all professions of brotherhood and unity.

Whether or not one accepts all the conclusions of the little book—and they are distinctly tentative—the facts about the racial minorities, the back-to-the-land movement among the Jews, the cultural and social results of the legal emancipation of the minorities, etc., are exceedingly valuable. One is grateful for the volume, which is heartily recommended to students of self-determination as well as to intelligent readers generally.

VICTOR S. YARROS

CHICAGO

The Inquiring Mind. By ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1928. Pp. x+276. \$2.50.

This book is a sequel to the author's work on *Freedom of Speech*. It brings down to date several of the issues there discussed, and makes accessible, in addition, some of his other articles, book reviews, and addresses that deal with liberty of thought. Two essays on the open mind in education are followed by discussions of all the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on civil liberties since 1920, and also of the Rand School injunction in New York, the I.W.W. injunction in California, and the Bimba blasphemy prosecution in Massachusetts. Another paper deals with the various laws and ordinances affecting freedom of speech and assemblage in Boston. The author examines aspects of several industrial controversies, such as the Steel Strike of 1919, company towns in the soft coal fields, and the injunctions against the Coal Strike of 1919 and the Railway Shop Strike of 1922. The concluding article is on the "Economic Interpretation of Judges."

The title of the book is taken from the generous context in which the author conceives the relation of the judiciary to freedom. In the concluding essay on judges, Professor Chafee sees that any one principle is too narrow adequately to explain any given man. It may be thought that he unduly discounts the explanatory value of this particular device, in the light of his own admission that the facts may "show that economic motives must have guided the action of enough unspecified men in a mass to decide the action of the mass." Certainly if this be true, as he appears to admit, it establishes a probability value of the

correctness of the economic interpretation in any given case. While this may be the chief word, he is correct in holding that it is not the only word of wisdom in understanding the slack between the conservatively presumed inerrancy of judicial decisions and the known emotions and interests of judges. One needs to know more than the financial holdings of a man to interpret his judicial conduct or to be wise in picking for a judicial post one who will uphold that prolegomenon to all progress, freedom of thought and speech. He needs to know, as Mr. Chafee puts it, the total powers and sensitivities of the man, legal and ultra-legal, and then further to know what methods will enable such a man once on the bench "to keep in continuous fruitful contact with the changing social background out of which controversies arise."

In short, he needs to know and be able to maintain the kind of education that will develop an "inquiring mind." The overshadowing importance of this orientation for law justifies and renders fruitful the opening essays on the conditions of wise education. "Knowledge is not a series of propositions to be absorbed," as the book wisely begins, "but a series of problems to be solved." The temporal priority of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the learning process begets the false notion that all education is, like those initial processes, the absorption of something already provided. This is utterly false and completely misleading.

Out of this easily understood error, however, grow the dangers to which freedom is subjected. Legal training is peculiarly calculated to interpret knowledge in this absorptive sense, and the result in judges and laymen alike of this presupposition is to overestimate the value of the already acquired, to overestimate the danger of innovations in idea, and to underestimate the high function served in society by tolerance of free speech. Only a mind that through inquiring discovers for itself the joy of growth, the fertility of thinking, and the danger of complacent stagnation—only such a mind is prepared fully to serve the cause of freedom as judge or to promote the basic conditions of human growth as educational engineer.

One change regarding the constitutional safeguarding of freedom of speech should be noted. Beginning with a presumption in *Gilbert v. Minnesota* (1920) and culminating with an affirmation in *Gillow v. New York* (1925), the doctrine has come to be accepted by the Supreme Court of the United States that the "liberty" protected from the states in the Fourteenth Amendment includes liberty of speech. Formally, then, it is now protected by and against the federal government. Whether this formal fact represents a material advance as well as an interesting change must be determined by the larger considerations already discussed under the virtue of an "inquiring mind." The final negative sanction of freedom of speech is enshrined in the famous remark of Benjamin Franklin: "Abuses of the freedom of speech ought to be repressed, but to whom dare we commit the care of doing it?" Whether this negative sanction supplemented by the positive one of joy in growth prevails at any given time

and place is a matter not so much in the lap of the gods elsewhere as in the hands of educators everywhere.

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Report Joint Committee for the Study of Legal Aid of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the Welfare Council of New York City, with a foreword by JOHN W. DAVIS. 1928. Pp. viii+156.

The celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Legal Aid Society of New York City gave occasion for a survey of metropolitan conditions from the point of view of economy and adequacy through the appointment of this joint committee. The materials were already easily available through the labors of Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, of Mr. John S. Bradway, and of committees of the American Association for Organizing Family Welfare Work and the Association of Legal Aid Organizations. The application of the data to the New York situation was the task of the Committee.

The Committee recommend for New York (1) the general independent, privately supported legal aid agency, rejecting the plan in Chicago, where Legal Aid is closely related to the family welfare agency, and the public defender of, e.g., Los Angeles; (2) legal-aid organization "properly" centralized but primarily organized by boroughs; (3) a non-sectarian, widely supported, national desertion bureau, evidently after the manner of the bureau so ably conducted now for many years under Jewish auspices; (4) adequate equipment and physical facilities; (5) specialization with breadth; (6) the selection of attorneys with regard to experience, competency, national affiliation, and socio-legal qualifications; (7) the appropriate use of women attorneys; (8) the adoption of a definite technique for training new members of the staff; (9) better co-ordination of existing legal aid organizations; (10) better co-operation with welfare organizations; (11) more attention to the education of the public; and (12) better financial support. In addition to these recommendations, the Committee finds changes necessary in the rules governing activities *in forma pauperis* and in other provisions regulating access to the courts, in the procedure of the several administrative departments of the government, and in the conduct of some attorneys. Suggested forms for New York Legal Aid records and the questionnaires used by the Committee are published.

S. P. B.

Progress in the Law (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CXXXVI, No. 225. Editor, JOHN S. BRADWAY). Philadelphia, 1928. Pp. 187.

Attention has been called before in this *Review* to Mr. Elihu Root's statement that the administration of justice is often in the case of the poor little better than a travesty (Carnegie Foundation Report on *Justice and the Poor*,

p. ix).¹ Chief Justice Taft has also been outspoken on the same subject (*U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 398*, p. iii).² More recently, in a Foreword to a *Report of a Joint Committee for the Study of Legal Aid of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and of the Welfare Council of New York City*, Mr. John W. Davis has said, "It is a fine thing to hold up our ideals and to make them as it were visions for the future and goals for ultimate attainment; but it is even a better thing to have the opportunity and to be shown the way for their immediate realization."

The need, then, of adapting the law and its administration to modern social conditions is recognized by those generally counted among the conservative members of the community. This volume of the *Annals* undertakes to point out the ways in which that adaptation is taking place and may perhaps be fostered and assisted. The subject is not a simple one, for it is being attacked from many points of view. Mr. Bradway has obtained the help of many distinguished persons. He and Mr. Reginald Heber Smith each contribute a paper; Dean Roscoe Pound, who has been challenging the legal and the social world for more than twenty years, contributes one of his brilliant analyses of the relation of law to other social institutions; and there are twenty-four other papers, on various changes in the substantive law, on the development of new resources such as conciliation processes, administrative tribunals, the reorganization of municipal courts, and the development of the rule-making power of the courts. Three papers are devoted to the development in civil law, six to progress in criminal courts, three to progress in the education and organization of the bar, and two to progress in lawmaking. This form of presentation is never so well organized as when the subject is presented as a single theme, as in *Justice and the Poor*, or in the *United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin*; but by such a compilation a great weight of authority is built up. The subject of law reform is here given the support of Dean Pound, Mr. Root, Chief Justice Taft, Judge Rosenberry, of Wisconsin, Judge Harley, of Chicago, who has devoted such generous service to the American Judicature Society, and various other writers give weight and volume to the protest.

And the presentation is comprehensive. If the subject of statewide reorganization, of the introduction of administrative methods into judicial relationships, the idea of a "ministry of justice," and the name of Judge Cardozo are missing, it is probably with the hope that before too long another collection of material in this field may be published. There must always be an excuse for another attack.

S. P. B.

Man's Quest for Social Guidance. By HOWARD W. ODUM. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927. Pp. 643. \$4.50.

Man's Quest for Social Guidance is designed to introduce the college student to current social problems. One of its chief merits lies in the method of pres-

¹ Reviewed in this *Review*, I, 168.

² *Ibid.*

entation. The problems of methodology that underlie the task of arriving at knowledge in the social sciences are first presented, followed by a discussion of objectivity and of value, so that a comprehensive basis is established for the consideration of social questions. The author's wide knowledge of contemporary social organization and of the aims and standards of social institutions enables him to evaluate current sociological opinion on these matters in scholarly fashion.

After a theoretical discussion of the individual and society, leadership, social change, the influence of physical and human geography upon social forms, Professor Odum leads the student in successive chapters through international and national questions to those of race, immigration, and population. There is a special chapter devoted to the Negro in America, with a decidedly liberal viewpoint well adapted to improving attitudes of southern students. Following this, a number of chapters are devoted to the problems of the family, to child welfare, and to the particular problems of women in contemporary society. General social forces, such as education, religion, government, community organization, and city and country life are next considered. One chapter is devoted to economic factors of society, and another to labor. Pathological phases of social organization involved in maladjustment and social waste receive rather meager treatment, however, in a single chapter. Two chapters are given over to social planning and public social work. The text is concluded with a discussion of social progress with further emphasis on the need and the use of the scientific method in social control.

Professor Odum's facts as well as his theories are up to date, and the arrangement of the material in each chapter is designed to present available information as well as to acquaint the student with the more important diverse theories which have some degree of validity. Suggestions are given at the end of each chapter for further thought, for thoroughgoing research, and for practical application of the discussion on each topic. An excellent Bibliography, which introduces the student to the best thought in this field during the last thirty years, requires fifty-three pages of the text. The Index will also be helpful.

In addition to the task of presenting social problems to the student in the manner best calculated to serve the purposes of the classroom, Professor Odum is seeking to formulate the principles of sociology as they relate to moot social questions. The social worker, therefore, may find this volume somewhat dogmatic in the presentation of social life largely through an institutional view of society. Through this approach social problems tend to become depersonalized as emphasis is shifted to social aggregates and societal structures rather than to an understanding of the problems of the individual in the social order. This is a general characteristic of the volume, although it is less apparent in the discussion of the family. Unless a textbook of this kind is accompanied by the case-study method as well as by an acquaintance with modern psychology, the knowledge that the student derives from this method of study may frequently be so abstract that later application to concrete situations is difficult if not impossible.

To present the important questions of social life in the present structurally integrated human universe is a vast undertaking involving many complicating factors. It is not greatly simplified even if attention is concentrated on the United States. The tendency to generalize is well-nigh inescapable; it is, in fact, the ultimate purpose of sociology, and without some attempt at interpretation no organized comprehension of human life would be possible. Professor Odum realizes the sterility of social generalization not directly related to an actual descriptive and statistical study of social facts, and therefore draws heavily upon available social studies. It is to be doubted, however, whether the field of study included can properly be understood outside of an entire curriculum rather than the single-unit course of study intended by this volume. Sometime, it is to be hoped, an integrated study of the individual and society based upon all the available social and biological specialities may be developed. Until such a synthesis is made, all sociological studies will continue to be fragmentary and unsatisfactory from one or more aspects.

H. L. LURIE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Village Communities. By EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927. Pp. 244. \$2.25.

This volume is the last in a series of five presenting the results of studies of the agricultural village as it exists in the United States today—a survey that constitutes a real contribution to existing knowledge of community life. The various studies suggest problems to be investigated further, as well as methods and techniques adapted to the making of such investigations.

Dr. Brunner defines an agricultural village as "an incorporated place whose population ranged from 250 to 2,500, whose chief function was to act as a service station to the surrounding countryside." Since the United States Census does not present separately data concerning unincorporated places, the study was limited to incorporated villages. In addition to the unpublished census figures, the data were secured through actual investigations of various villages made by trained field workers.

The present volume is divided into two parts, the first of which contains the summary of the village studies discussed under such heads as "Villages and Villagers," "Village and Country," "The Economic Life of Villages," "Education," "Health," "The Church," and "Social Life." In each instance, the topic is analyzed with two ends in view: (1) to set out the problems of the village; and (2) to show the relation of the village to the open country, on the one hand, and to the city, on the other. The evidence is inconclusive, showing that village community life varies with differences in wealth and in types of agriculture, and also with the customs and traditions of the community. That is, there is no one type of American agricultural village.

In Part II are presented studies of eight individual villages located in vari-

ous sections of the country. With one exception, that of Jefferson, the villages are described as they were observed by the field workers. The topics around which the descriptions center are the same as those selected for summary as indicated above. The history of Jefferson is related in detail as depicting the "evolution of an American village." Such a long-time view shows the forces which have gone into the development of the village of today, not only with respect to its economic position, but also with respect to its attitudes and customs.

These village studies are of particular value to students of the methods of making surveys and of the interpretation of survey results. They are also helpful to those searching for ways and means of effectively organizing social service efforts in the small centers of population and the surrounding open country.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Rural Sociology. By JOHN MORRIS GILLETTE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Revised ed. Pp. xiii+574. \$3.00.

Elements of Rural Sociology. By NEWELL LEROY SIMS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1928. Pp. xiv+698. \$3.75.

These two volumes may well be considered together as two of the recent contributions to the textbook material in the field of rural sociology. Each volume has a suggestive bibliography at the end of each chapter. The abundant footnotes serve as additional aids to the student interested in a more exhaustive acquaintance with the several aspects of the subject.

Dr. Gillette, a pioneer in this field, presents the factual aspects of the rural situation. He sets forth a few theories and is conservative in projecting remedies for rural ills.

Dr. Sims employs much the same basic material. He is writing primarily for the student who is of urban origin. His preface notes that his aim is "to contribute a viewpoint and an emphasis that seem to be needed" in rural sociology. His concept of society is described briefly: "Society is thought of in terms of energy manifest organically, materially, and culturally in a unity which we call the human group." Rural sociology, one aspect of the science of society as a whole, thus becomes the study of the behavior of the energy of rural groups. The volume is a comprehensive survey of the field and provokes further thought and investigation.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

La Statistica Sanitaria Demografica del Cancro in Italia. By PROFESSOR ALFREDO NICEFORO. Milan: Stab. Tipografico Stucchi Ceretti, 1928. Pp. 123.

Professor Niceforo has assembled in this monograph some very interesting data based upon a study of 44,000 deaths from cancer. The report sets forth

the methods used and the results obtained in two separate investigations of the same problem. The first study, which was primarily demographic, undertook to analyze the registrations of deaths from cancer for the three years 1919-21. The second investigation was made by means of questionnaires which physicians throughout Italy were requested to fill out and attach to the registration blank in the case of every death from cancer reported to the government bureau of vital statistics in the years 1924 and 1925.

The second study is obviously the more valuable, though Professor Niceforo takes care to point out several respects in which he believes the data are either faulty or misleading. The monograph contains numerous interesting tables on the material gathered in 1924; footnotes explain that the 1925 results appear to parallel closely those of 1924, but the tables based on the 1925 returns have not been thoroughly analyzed and are to be published in a later report.

The tables are too numerous for discussion here. They involve such matter as the distribution of deaths from cancer throughout the various provinces of Italy, the incidence of other diseases prior to the appearance of cancer, the number of cases in which surgical intervention took place, the interval between the first appearance of cancer and the surgical intervention, the frequency of metastasis, and the interval elapsing between surgical intervention and the return of the disease.

The figures indicate that deaths from cancer are much less numerous in southern Italy and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia than in the northern part of the peninsula. A half-dozen possible explanations of this phenomenon are suggested, one of which is that the natural selection constantly going on in the southern provinces because of the high infant mortality rate automatically eliminates many potential cancer cases. The new government's campaign for infant welfare should eventually provide an opportunity to test this hypothesis when the children of the present generation reach the higher age groups.

From the viewpoint of the social worker, one of the most striking findings of the study is the large number of persons dying from cancer who received no medical or surgical care of any kind. Of a total of 23,015 cases reported in the death returns of 1924, only 3,802 received surgical attention, 4,492 had other types of treatment, such as X-rays or radium, and 14,828 received neither medical nor surgical treatment. Although some of the cases included in this last group may have received some attention that was not noted on the schedule, the proportion that did not have the benefit of adequate care is so high that even a considerable margin of error would not invalidate the conclusion that a great majority of the cases do not receive scientific treatment.

The author takes great pains at every step to point out the limitations of his data and to indicate that caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions from his tables. His conservative approach to his material inspires confidence in such findings as he does set forth, and his evident familiarity with similar studies made in other countries increases the interest that his own methods and results arouse. The publication of the 1925 figures will doubtless necessitate revision

of some of the tentative conclusions he reaches in the present work. Meantime, however, the study will prove useful to statisticians in other countries who are wrestling with problems of method in attempting to reduce to numerical terms the facts needed for use in the world-wide campaign now directed against the disease.

A. W. McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Board of Education. By SIR LEWIS AMHERST SELBY-BIGGE. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927. Pp. 299. \$2.00.

This account of the work of the central educational authority of Great Britain is the fourth in the "Whitehall" series of volumes intended to supply accurate and authoritative information in accessible form concerning the British governmental departments. This volume, like others in the series, is extremely valuable to students of administrative methods. The schools in which poor-law children are cared for are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health, which in 1919 supplanted the functions of the Local Government Board; and these poor-law schools are therefore not dealt with in the present volume, since they are described in Sir Arthur Newsholme's study dealing with the Ministry of Health, an earlier volume in the same series; industrial and reformatory schools which care for vagrant, neglected, and delinquent children are under the Home Office, to which Sir Edward Troup devoted a volume also in this same series; but the administrative questions implied in the development of the English legislation, which has placed on the local authorities such heavy and varied responsibilities in the matter of providing "efficient education" for all the children between five and fourteen years of age, while giving to the central authority considerable power through the allotment of national funds, can be understood only when set out in relation to the educational organization.

The author of the new volume was secretary of the Board of Education from 1911 to 1925 and he discusses complicated and often hotly controversial questions with great lucidity and a sense of fair play.

"The Central Authority," dealt with in chapter i, was first the Treasury (1833-39), then a Committee of the Privy Council (1838-56), then an Education Department (1856-99), and from 1899 until the present time the Board of Education. Obviously the administrative problems occupy the writer's attention almost exclusively; and the chapters on "Finance," which reflect "the progress as between central and local agencies or authorities from patronage to joint responsibility, from contract to status, from dole or purchase or subsidy to partnership, from distribution of particular grants to a system of joint finance," on "Inspection and Examination," on "Regulations," and on the "Local Education Authorities" are especially useful to the student of administration in the United States. Other chapters deal with the following subjects: "What

the Board Does Not Do," "What the Board Tries To Do," "Staff and Organization," "Consultation and Information," "The Denominational Question," and "Educational Endowments." Social workers will be particularly interested in the chapters in which the administrative questions connected with the "partnership" referred to have been set out.

S. P. B.

Principles and Problems in Vocational Guidance: A Book of Readings.

Edited by FREDERICK J. ALLEN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1927. Pp. 310. \$3.00.

Mr. Allen has collected in this book and the companion volume, *Practice in Vocational Guidance*, the best that has been said and is being done on the subject. The articles in the present volume are classified under the following heads: "The Theory of Vocational Guidance," "Vocational and Educational Guidance in the Public Schools," "Vocational Guidance in Employment," "Vocational Guidance in College," and "Special Problems."

Guidance is considered here in the broadest way, including its importance in the kindergarten, in primary grades where there are many failures, on through the upper elementary and junior and senior high schools, and into employment. It includes also educational, moral, and social guidance, as well as vocational guidance. One article is entitled "Every Teacher a Counselor." Without minimizing the importance of these phases of "guidance" and the desirability of taking into consideration the entire background of the child in directing him into this life work, the danger in so broadening the field and in feeling that anyone can do the job should not be overlooked. Vocational guidance is an important field of social work and requires a specified preparation and wide knowledge.

The articles included on "Guidance in Employment" have mostly been contributed by men in industry. The interest of such people is gratifying because real guidance in placement and the advancement of young workers will have to come with the help of industry. The book will be useful as a study of the beginnings and development of vocational guidance and its present status.

WILMA WALKER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Boletín del Instituto Internacional Americano de Protección a la Infancia.

Tomo I, No. 4 (Abril de 1928). Montevideo, Uruguay, 1928. Pp. 383-586.

The International American Bureau of Child Welfare, which is a permanent body, located in Montevideo, Uruguay, for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information bearing on the American child, grew out of the Pan

American Child Welfare Conferences and at the present time receives the support of ten American governments.

The materials presented may be grouped under three headings: The first part contains two studies, one on "Infant Mortality and Babies' Welfare in Argentine," by Dr. Gregorio Aráoz Alfaro, president of the Argentine National Department of Hygiene; and the second a study on "The Leading Ideas of Social Service in the Work of Child Welfare in Uruguay," by Dr. Luis Morquio.

The second part is a symposium of papers read before the Fifth Pan American Child Welfare Conference recently held in Habana, Cuba, by some of the American delegates, including Dr. Frederic W. Schlutz on "The Reduction of the Infant Mortality Rate in the United States," Dr. Ada E. Schweitzer on "The Fundamental Principles in a Public Maternity and Infancy Program," Dr. C. C. Carstens on "The State's Duty toward the Homeless and Neglected Child," Dr. John O'Grady on "The Role of the Individual Social Case Worker in the Institutional Care of Children," Miss Katharine Lenroot of the United States Children's Bureau on "The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency," and Mr. Charles L. Chute of the National Probation Association on "Probation in the Juvenile Court."

The third part of the report contains, first, a monograph on "The School of Social Service," dating from 1925, which is located in Santiago, Chile, and operates under the local Charity Organization Society (La Junta de Beneficencia); second, an article in Portuguese on "Infant Mortality," by Dr. Gustavo Lessa of the Brazilian Bureau of Statistics; third, a résumé of the Fifth Pan American Child Welfare Conference recently held in Habana, Cuba, by Katharine Lenroot; and lastly, a tabulation of the 120 resolutions passed by that Conference on such varied topics as children's code commissions, rest periods for working mothers at the time of childbirth, laws on the investigation of paternity and the enforcing of the responsibilities of fatherhood, the teaching of infant welfare, the development of visiting teachers, the pasteurization of milk, infant mortality, etc. Miss Lenroot, in speaking of the last Pan American Child Welfare Conference, says that it was notable in that it saw established a permanent South American Children's Bureau, that the delegates included representatives of most branches of child welfare, that the marked preponderance of public as over against private leadership in child welfare work in Latin America was again evidenced, and that the mother was recognized as the great essential co-operating factor in any program of child welfare.

This Bureau with its broad program of collecting and disseminating data on children and all that concerns them in America can in this report be seen to be started on a work whose possibilities are exceedingly great. The Fifth Pan American Conference of Child Welfare provided valuable material, and with an alert permanent bureau at work it will be expected that great results will be forthcoming in the development of child welfare work among our neighbors to

the south, where the field is very large and the need is great and more evident all the time.

DON S. HARTZELL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1927-28. Compiled by O. M. NORLIE and G. L. KIEFFER. New York: National Lutheran Council, 1927. Pp. 288.

This slender volume contains a mass of information with reference to the Lutheran community throughout the world. The portion that is of special interest to social workers is contained in the sections entitled "Detailed Statistics" and "Statistical Summaries." The Lutheran communions maintain 75 orphan homes; 31 home-finding societies; 69 homes for the aged; 106 deaconess mother-houses, hospitals, and homes for defectives; 68 hospices, inns, seamen's and immigrant homes. Some interesting facts are given regarding these agencies.

Orphan homes.—In these 75 institutions, 2,135 children were received during the year, 1,022 were dismissed, and a total of 4,700 children cared for.

The value of the property is reported to be more than ten million dollars, distributed as follows: value of grounds, \$2,725,000; buildings \$6,800,000; equipment, \$715,000; endowment, \$1,192,000. The receipts for the year were nearly a million and a half dollars from the following sources: from children, approximately \$168,000; from endowment funds, \$120,000; from church appropriations, \$335,000; from private donations, \$300,000; from other sources, such as farming, \$200,000; from additions to plant, \$100,000; from additions to endowment funds, \$100,000.

Children's home-finding societies.—These 31 home-finding societies placed 473 children and had 783 children under care at the end of the year. The societies owned property valued at nearly \$500,000 and reported receipts of approximately \$275,000, as follows: from children, \$38,000; from endowment funds, \$715; from church appropriations, \$52,000; from private donations, \$45,000; from other sources, \$154,000.

Homes for the aged.—These 69 Homes received during the year 676 persons, 433 were either dismissed or died, and in all 2,499 persons were cared for. The expenditures were more than one million dollars; and the value of the properties was more than \$7,000,000, grounds, buildings, equipment, and endowment funds. The receipts of \$1,114,550, included the following: from inmates, \$430,000; from endowment funds, \$53,500; from church appropriations, \$101,000; from private donations, \$126,500; from other sources as farming, \$95,000; from additions to plant, \$121,000; from additions to endowment funds, \$38,000.

The Deaconess motherhouses, hospitals, and homes for defectives, 106 in number, meet a great variety of needs. There are general hospitals, dispensaries, preventoria, sanatoria, special institutions for the tuberculous, for children, for epileptic and feeble-minded, for the "dementia," the aged, and helpless. There

is a school for the deaf, and there are training schools for deaconesses, with 349 deaconess students and 1,810 nurses in training. Altogether they employ 905 men and 18 women doctors, 205 men and 114 women teachers; they employ 12 men nurses and 990 women, 1,306 other employees (451 men, 945 women) beside 84 resident physicians and 208 resident deaconesses. They treated during the year 236,228 patients. The property of these institutions was valued at \$23,903,900. Their income was more than seven million dollars.

There are 68 *hospices, inns, seamen's and immigrant homes*, which received during the year 219,815 persons in need of hospitality and had at the end of the year 135,000 persons in the institutions. This property is valued at nearly three million dollars, and the total receipts were approximately \$500,000 from the following sources: guests, endowment, church appropriations, private donations, other sources.

Altogether the report contains some very interesting data regarding the social work of a great religious body.

S. P. B.

Social Adjustment. By ROBERT CLOUTMAN DEXTER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. xii+427. \$5.00.

This volume is similar in subject matter to three other relatively recent books which have had wide usage as textbooks in social pathology, or in other introductory courses in applied sociology. These three are Gillin's *Poverty and Dependency*, Ford's *Social Problems and Social Policy*, and Queen and Mann's *Social Pathology*. Of the three, *Social Adjustment* most closely resembles Professor Gillin's book.

Poverty; dependent, neglected, and delinquent children; the feeble-minded; the aged; the sick; the physically handicapped; the mentally diseased; drunkards and drug addicts; public health; sex and the family; crime and punishment; immigration; social case work; community organization; the rôle of science in social adjustment—these comprise the topics with which the author deals. Of necessity, the discussion of so large a number of problems in one volume means that the treatment is suggestive rather than exhaustive. Professor Dexter has introduced a relatively large amount of interpretative material which, for the beginning student and the layman, should make the work of increased value.

After having defined social adjustment "as applying to specific phenomena—the necessary task of smoothing off the rough edges and softening the sledge hammer blows of an indifferent social system," the author concludes: "To participate in some degree in such efforts is the opportunity of every man and woman. There is no task approaching this in sublimity or satisfaction."

The person who insists upon the most conservative interpretation of all social data may find occasion for questioning and open disagreement at certain

points. Some readers will not be convinced, for example, that direct inheritance plays as great a part in social maladjustment as Professor Dexter assumes. Others may disagree with the wholesome conviction that those in a position to know should make definite attempts to apply that knowledge in the reorganization of social institutions and practices. It is certain that the author is, in this book, assuming the rôle of the "practically minded" person rather than the theorist.

An excellent supplementary reading-list is to be found at the close of each chapter. Appendix A suggests periodicals, reports, proceedings, etc., which will serve the student well as sources for reference material. Appendix B lists some twenty-six national organizations whose objectives are definitely the effecting of better social adjustments in one direction or another.

EARL D. MYERS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

An Introduction to Social Work. By JOHN O'GRADY, PH.D. New York: Century Co., 1928. Pp. x+398. \$2.50.

In *An Introduction to Social Work*, Father O'Grady presents in a clear, concise style a picture of social work, discussing, among other subjects, social case work and the family, foster care of children, the church and social work, and community organization. The discussions of methodology are combined with brief sketches of historical background and a sociological interpretation of the problem under consideration. Of special value to the beginning student are the questions and bibliographies appended to each chapter.

According to the prefatory note, this is the first attempt "on the part of a Catholic writer to give a comprehensive view of the whole field of social work and to integrate the charities of the Catholic church in their proper relationship to the public and non-sectarian agencies of welfare." The thesis set forth by the author is to the effect that the church has played an active rôle in the development of methods of caring for the socially inadequate members of society and that methods of social work will be strengthened on all sides by the active participation of the church in plans for social welfare.

The book is designed, not only for college students, but also for social workers. It is the purpose of the author (1) to interpret to the public and non-sectarian social worker the motives behind the organized social work of the church and (2) to show the Catholic social workers the entire scope of the work of the church in relation to social work carried on under other auspices. Students, volunteers, and social workers will find this book suggestive, interesting, and stimulating.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

BRIEF NOTICES

Rescue Work. By EDWARD C. TRENHOLME. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927. Pp. viii+120. 2s. 6d.

This compact volume written for the Church Penitentiary Council will be interesting to American readers chiefly because it sets forth the very active work carried on in this field by the Church of England. There is a Preface written by the Bishop of London, who makes a moving appeal for funds for carrying on the work.

The principles of treatment that are advocated are sound, particularly with regard to the treatment of venereal disease and keeping illegitimate children with their mothers; and the author also supports the movement for maintaining a single standard of morals for men and women alike. The references to the young prostitutes as "penitents" and to the girls in the homes and refuges as "large families of penitents" would not be possible in this country, but the work itself is apparently excellent.

The church in England and Wales maintains an impressive list of institutions for what is called "rescue work"—40 houses of mercy, or two-year homes, with accommodations for 1,550 "penitents"; 140 shelters and refuges for more transient cases; 25 different mother- and-baby homes for unmarried mothers "for a period of moral recovery and training"; 5 babies' homes to help unmarried mothers by taking care of the infant; 8 medical homes for "penitents with venereal disease"; 5 homes for the mentally deficient, with provision for 224 persons; 8 children's homes with accommodations for 274 "little girls" who have been assaulted or had immoral experiences, in addition to a special group of small homes "for middle and upper-class penitents" and several training homes for rescue workers. The account of the training—a year's course not apparently connected with any of the university training courses for social work—shows that it is thorough and with a good emphasis on case work, including "a final spell of general social work under the Charity Organisation Society." A statement from the Archbishop's Advisory Board for Preventive and Rescue Work is quoted to show something of the basis of selection of candidates:

What we want are women who are willing to take their training seriously. Rescue work is a vocation not undertaken merely as a means of earning a livelihood, and rescue workers must be women who dream dreams and see visions—yes, dream dreams and see visions of the miracles that can be worked in the human heart by the power of the Holy Spirit.

A Signpost to Civic Health and Welfare (Sign Post Series, No. 1). By ANNIE R. CATON and MARIAN BERRY. With an introduction by ELEANOR F. RATHBONE. London: P. S. King & Son, 1927. Pp. v+138. 2s. 6d.

This little volume, for which Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone has written an introduction, is the first of a series of studies intended to point the way for closer

study and more intelligent interest in and criticism by the individual citizen of the conditions in his own town. This and a companion volume on *Social Insurance* are sponsored by the British National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship, in its desire that women should use wisely their new political power to make the community a safer, more beautiful, and happier place in which to be born and live. Attention is called to the lower esteem in which local administration is held as compared with national administration, and an effort is made especially to direct attention to those aspects of municipal responsibility which affect the life and health of the family groups and of the school child, the provision for right uses of leisure and for informal education, or education outside of the schoolroom.

Detailed descriptions are given of reforms that have been effected in some municipalities, so that the administration in other communities may be criticized constructively. The subjects dealt with include maternal and infant care, health service in schools, milk, housing, sanitation, smoke, humane slaughtering, infectious diseases, parks and open spaces, public libraries and museums. The cities to which reference is made are Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, Cardiff, Shrewsbury, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and a number of London boroughs.

An interesting supplementary chapter on the "Status of Women in Local Government Service" indicates the special interest of women in these services and the great inequality in the opportunity for employment, promotion, and pay for women as compared with men under local administration authorities. The material in this chapter should prove stimulating to our American committees since our League of Women Voters is laying great stress on the relative opportunities for women as compared with men in public education and in the civil service of the various states. At the last convention of the League this was included as a subject for study by the Committee on the Legal Status of Women.

Local Government for Beginners (W.E.A. Outlines). By MARGARET I. COLE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. Pp. 90. 1 s.

This is one of a series of volumes published under the auspices of the Workers' Education Association to meet a demand for inexpensive books on subjects dealt with in elementary classes. This little book assumes the reader to be a councillor or poor law guardian and undertakes to set out the principles underlying the system of which he may have become a part, while cautioning him that the question "What can or ought the Council to do?" can often be answered only by a lawyer. The chapters are devoted to the "Municipal Authorities—Councillors and Guardians," "Electing a Councillor," "The Council's Business," "The Council's Funds," "The Council's Work—Police, Health, Poor Law, Nuisances, Housing and Town-planning, Education and Public Utilities," and "London." The last chapter is devoted to a bibliography.

Other volumes already published in the series are: G. D. H. Cole, *The Economic System*; Professor A. E. Heath, *How We Behave*; G. E. Wilkinson, *How to Read Literature*; Honora Enfield, *Co-Operation*; G. M. Colman, *Capitalist Combines*; and other volumes are in preparation.

These small treatises are not easy reading and contemplate teachers (tutors) and students willing to pay the price of learning by concentrated work.

The Invisible Government. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928. Pp. 169. \$1.75.

In these lectures Professor Munro deals in popular and interesting fashion with "Fundamentalism in Politics," showing that many people are as unable to apply science and history in the political as in the religious world, and that the influence of dogma is more unfortunate in politics than in the field of religious teaching. Among the "dogmas" discussed are, for example, "Government rests on the consent of the governed," "The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy," "There should be a government of laws, and not of men." "That government is best that governs least." Other subjects dealt with include "The Myth of Popular Sovereignty," "The Law of the Pendulum," "Government by Propaganda," "The Money Power: A Defense," claiming that "nothing can be plainer to the student of political history than the tolerable regularity with which in all ages and countries, with amazingly few exceptions, the power of the well-to-do has strongly influenced the course of public affairs. . . . Indeed, it is this unremitting guidance by a stabilized, intelligent, self-interest that has injected order into the process of political evolution." Yet Professor Munro is "not trying to whitewash the plutocratic in politics. . . . It would be an impossible task, for there are too many sins on his conduct sheet. The money power is no myth in American political life; it is an active, relentless, and for the most part an invisible, factor there. But a good deal of the popular antipathy to it rests upon a myth—on the illusion that its activities are invariably detrimental to the best interests of the people as a whole. . . ." With that contention he takes issue. In the last lecture, on "Our Strengthening Sectionalism," Professor Munro puts forward an interesting argument and a persuasive plea for the development of regional agencies and activities, calling attention to the confused chaos or the threat of bureaucracy which he thinks inherent in the situation where great interests national in their scope and concern are left to the control of the states, with an inevitable logic of federal interference. That national intervention may be the most direct route to the development of a regional character in institutions and agencies is not suggested by Professor Munro. Yet that is a possible path by which to reach the goal he seeks; that is, official recognition that the United States is a "vast and varied union of unlike regions, each possessing a sense of distinction in interests and in point of view from all the rest."

Workers' Health and Safety: A Statistical Program. By ROBERT MORSE WOODBURY, with the aid of the council and staff of the Institute of Economics. New York: Macmillan Co., 1927. Pp. xii+207. \$2.50.

This book, as its title implies, is an attempt to present a program for the collection of such statistics as would be useful in the control of industrial accidents and disease. In somewhat abstract terms it analyzes the problems of industrial safety and workers' health, and criticizes the statistics which are at present being collected in this field. The reader who is not familiar with some of the figures, the methods by which they are gathered, and the various attempts to get more comprehensive series might think the author is spending many pages on self-evident truths. The better-informed reader, although he will find little that has not been said in other places, will realize that a mass of constructive criticism is brought together in a very small space. The author's programs blaze no new trails, but they are suggestive and carefully thought out. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book is the explicit relation of the statistics to the purposes to be served.

Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867. By FRANCES E. GILLESPIE. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1927. Pp. vii+319. \$4.00.

Dr. Gillespie has written a competent account of the political phase of British labor history in the period between the collapse of Chartism and the Reform Act of 1867. Dr. Gillespie's thesis, that this period was not barren of political interest and achievement on the part of the working classes, is well documented as a result of careful study of the political literature of the period. Early students, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in their *History of Trade Unionism*, Dr. M. Beer in his *History of British Socialism*, George Macaulay Trevelyan in his *Life of Bright*, and Morley in his *Life of Gladstone* have not slighted the period selected by Dr. Gillespie for intensive study, but her aim has been to reconstruct more comprehensively "the political thought and action of the whole body of English workingmen in this transitional quarter of a century." On the whole, the task was worth doing and has been well done.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Old Age Dependency: A Study of the Care Given to Needy Aged in California. Made for the State Legislature by the State Department of Social Welfare, Sacramento, California. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1928. Pp. 64.

This report, supplementing the *Report of the Heller Committee on the Dependent Aged in San Francisco* (see this *Review*, II, 687-88), is in reply to a question raised by the California legislature of 1927, which provided "for a study of old-age pensions in other communities and of the conditions affecting care of the aged in this state, and requested the State Department of Social Welfare to make a report thereon with recommendations." It was prepared by Miss Esther de Turbeville, one of the experienced social workers of California, now a special agent under the Department of Social Welfare. The report is presented in four parts. In the first of these are given a summary of the findings and the recommendations of the Department. In all but three of the counties in California, there are county hospitals for the sick and the aged. The larger counties have also separate institutions for the aged, so that there are, in all, 63 county institutions in which on June 30, 1928, there were 5,065 persons, sixty-five years of age or older, of whom 3,612 were seventy years of age or older. It is estimated that not more than 5 per cent of these could live outside the institution.

Besides these patients there were approximately 3,600, sixty-five years of age or over, of whom 2,400 were seventy years of age or over, to whom either public or private agencies were giving out-door relief. Except in Los Angeles the allowances made were very small and entirely inadequate. In Los Angeles an interesting system has been worked out. In that county, there is at the County Farm a well-equipped institution for the aged. This is a combination of an infirmary, a psychopathic department, and a general home; and 1,800 persons are cared for at one time in the combined institution. But besides the institution there is an Out-Door Relief Department in which there is a Property Division. In this Division aged persons owning property but without adequate income may turn their small holdings in to the county and in return obtain a regular monthly allowance as long as they live. This is said to enable the aged persons to feel that they have paid their way and to protect the county against the negligent relative who does nothing for the client so long as he lives but claims his property after his death. This department operates under authority given by a city ordinance, and its development is watched with great interest. Like many other interesting social schemes this was suggested by a New Zealand precedent.

The report indorses the plan for an old-age insurance system to be developed; it opposes a proposal for a State Home for the needy aged, as well as a non-contributory system of state pensions for the needy aged, and recommends a system (p. 11) of combined state and county aid to the needy aged after a plan outlined in a proposed act submitted for the consideration of the legislature.

The act places the primary responsibility for action upon the county government. In this way, local knowledge will be utilized and the old people retain the contacts and surroundings to which they are accustomed; at the same time the state will be enabled to assist in raising the standard of care and relief in counties which are now giving inadequate aid to the aged.

The report lays special stress on three points:

1. That for the homeless needy aged and for those who are physically or mentally disabled and may be considered as proper subjects for institutional care, there should be continuation of the present care and treatment in county hospitals and county homes; the counties should be encouraged to continue their programs of constant improvement of the care in these institutions.
2. That for the able-bodied or partially supported needy aged person, able to maintain a home outside of the institution, there should be social supervision by a local agency and adequate support through a system of state aid to the aged financed by combined state and county funds.
3. That there should be established in the office of the state treasurer a "Public bequest fund for the aged" to which gifts or bequests may be made; these funds to be used for the assistance of aged persons suffering from incurable diseases and for the benefit of other aged persons in such manner and amounts as may be recommended by the State Department of Social Welfare. This provision for a public bequest fund is made a part of the proposed act for the welfare of the aged as presented herewith.

And it estimates the cost of the proposed scheme at about \$820,000 if the group over sixty-five be included, and \$360,000 if the care is limited to those over seventy. Half of these costs in either instance will be borne by the state and half by the counties.

There are brief chapters in the report dealing with the employment of the aged, private homes for the aged, and with a comparison of the estimated costs of a system of allowances granted wholly by the state and of a system granted co-operatively by the state and the counties. Brief but adequate summaries are given of the laws in other countries and in other commonwealths in the United States, and the report closes with a series of sample life stories of aged persons interviewed by the special agent in connection with the survey.

Negro Survey of Pennsylvania. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Department of Welfare, Harrisburg, 1928. Pp. 97.

This state-wide survey of conditions affecting the Negro population of Pennsylvania is a very useful piece of work. Prepared by Forrester B. Washington,

it is of course sympathetic, but it is also fair and always intelligent. Pennsylvania, like other industrial states of the North, has received a very considerable number of Negro migrants from the South since the war and the Quota Acts shut off the supply of European labor. There were approximately 340,000 Negroes in Pennsylvania in 1925 in the two areas of concentration—in the Philadelphia region in the extreme eastern end and in the steel district of the extreme western end of the state. The report points out the practical difficulties resulting from this massing of Negroes in these two sections of the state:

A great many of the problems which confront agencies attempting to aid Negroes in this Commonwealth arise from the fact that three-fourths of the Negroes who have come North since the beginning of the World War have settled in a few cities in Pennsylvania. It is in these cities that the problems of housing, seasonal unemployment, racial friction, and the like are found most pronounced. . . .

Much better social work could be done among Negroes if in periods of surplus of Negro labor in the large centers of Negro population like Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, it were possible to direct Negroes seeking employment to jobs in the smaller industrial centers and the farming regions. There are many Negroes who come to Philadelphia and Pittsburgh who are qualified to farm, but who must be settled in these two cities because neither they nor the social agencies know much of the possibilities for placing them in the rural districts. . . .

Social work among Negroes in many cities for the last four or five years has been developed rather unintelligently. The average agency working among Negroes apparently has assumed that there is a "Chinese wall" around the city so far as Negroes are concerned, and that it had to consider every Negro migrant who came to that city as a permanent resident. There, before the agency could develop a plan of assimilation and adjustment for those already in the Commonwealth, Negroes by thousands would sweep in to almost undo the work started.

The one great practical relief for this situation is the distribution of these concentrated masses of Negroes over wider areas where their abilities can be utilized to their own advantage and that of the Commonwealth (pp. 7-8).

The report gives an interesting account of the status of the Negro worker in industry for whom the factory gates, hitherto closed to the black men, swing wide open:

During the five years between 1915 and 1920 almost a miracle took place in the industrial status of the Pennsylvania Negro. From a hewer of wood and a drawer of water, from an unimportant menial employe, from a race which was weak because of its lack of contact with the wealth producing agencies of the Commonwealth, he suddenly became an industrial producing unit (p. 15).

After the war the Negroes fell back from their new position, but nevertheless they remained in advance of their pre-war situation:

In some sections of the Commonwealth the number of Negroes working in certain industries is even higher than it was during the peak of the war period.

In the steel industry about Pittsburgh the proportion of Negroes working today is higher than during the war. . . . It is interesting to find that some of the firms which do not employ so many Negroes as they did during the War are those in which a greater degree of skill is required (pp. 17-18).

Recommendations are made for (1) the appointment of a Negro field-worker in the Department of Labor and Industry to create openings for Negroes in industry in those industrial centers where the availability of the Negro is not now realized, which would relieve the almost continuous surplus of Negro labor and other problems created out of the concentration of the majority of Negro migrants in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia; and (2) welfare agencies interested in Negroes are urged to give some attention to the location of skilled and better paid jobs for the competent Negroes. Mr. Washington wisely points out that there is no use trying to improve recreation, housing, and health conditions for the Negro without attempting to get the race into better paying jobs.

An interesting chapter on environment discusses the problem of residential segregation.

The Negro is frequently forced to live in the least healthful sections of the various communities. This is particularly true of the smaller cities and towns; in Coatesville, for example, the principal Negro section is located along the railroad tracks, where cinders from the trains and dust from the tracks blow through the homes throughout the summer months, and where the land is so low that water half fills the cellars of many of the houses for months at a time. Our investigators were able to walk under houses in a certain block in the Negro section of Coatesville from one end to the other, because the dampness had rotted away the partitions between the cellars.

In South Coatesville there is a Negro settlement . . . which has 18 two-room shacks with paper roofs. There are no fences about these houses, only one hydrant for each pair of shacks, and as many as ten persons live, eat, cook, wash, and sleep in the two rooms of each shack. . . . In Pottsville is another example of these conditions. Unhealthfully located and neglected by the municipal street department, it is a breeding spot for disease and crime.

The chapter on education discusses the vexed question of segregation of Negro children in the public schools, their scholarship status, and the educational work for Negro adults. There are also chapters on leisure-time activities, on group organizations, on crime, and on social-service agencies, including Negroes in their program. The report is one that ought to be read with an open and a thoughtful mind.

Individual Studies of 145 Offenders by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime. The Crime Commission of New York State. Albany, 1928. Pp. 128.

The Crime Commission of New York State, of which Caleb H. Baumes is chairman, was of the opinion that a study of the life-histories of men committed to the correctional institutions would throw light on the problem of crime and point to the causes of criminal activity. The histories were therefore obtained of all prisoners thirty years of age or less received during the months of August and September, 1926, except those at the institution for defective delinquents. These histories, in the words of the Commission, "illustrate graphically that there is no unit cause for crime, the outstanding need for individual study and

treatment of offenders, and the need for study and research before a program for the treatment of crime and criminals is formulated." The facts obtained are analyzed under the headings: Age, Nativity, Religion, Education, Home conditions, Recreation, Occupation, Marital status, Contact with social agencies, Arrests, and Probation.

Of these 145 offenders, 50 per cent were twenty-one years of age or under, and 76 per cent were twenty-five or under. Eighty-seven and a half per cent were native born. Many came from broken homes. They came, too, from twenty-five widely distributed counties throughout the state.

The stories are classified under the following headings: Inequalities of Sentences; Is There a Unit Cause for Crime? Offenders from Bad or Broken Homes; Offenders who were Truant, Backward, or Presented Behavior Problems in School; Defective and Abnormal Delinquents; Lifers; The Bandits—the Story of a Gang; A Delinquent with Special Abilities; A Case of Mental Conflict; Accidental Offenders; Some of the Results of Poor-Child Placing; Why Parole Is Said To Fail.

The recommendations are seven in number and include: (1) continuous scientific study and research in this field; (2) specialized training for officials in corrective work; (3) the integration of different services in behalf of delinquents; (4) co-operation on the part of public welfare agencies with the school and private social agencies; (5) better provision for the training, vocational guidance, and employment supervision of dull and subnormal youth; (6) the development of social recording and reporting by probation departments in courts by institutions and by public and private agencies; and (7) the consideration of possible agreements by which the burden of the cost and care of offenders should be borne by the states from which offenders come rather than necessarily by the state in which crimes are committed.

One very interesting feature of the report is the emphasis laid on the importance of skilled social service. The Commission wants thorough knowledge, accurate and adequate records, careful diagnosis, ingenious co-operation—all those arts that go to make up the highly professional social worker. One problem, of course, is how to recruit such workers. A second problem is how to persuade the judges to appoint them.

A statement of the methods used in obtaining these life-histories illustrates the thoroughness with which the attempt was made to secure accurate and complete information about these young men who should be absorbed in building community life but who have been caught in destructive and anti-social activities.

We select from one of the many interesting case histories a few paragraphs dealing with one of the youthful members of Cowboy Tessler's Gang who appeared before the Juvenile Court four times between 1907 and 1911, was sent to the House of Refuge three different times between 1911 and 1915, sentenced to Elmira in 1915, to Sing Sing in 1916 for one year; to a county penitentiary in 1918, again to the same institution in 1920, again to Sing Sing in 1922 for four

and a half years, and while still on parole sentenced to the state prison for attempted burglary for his natural life.

Joseph G— has been appearing before the courts since he was seven years old, and now, at twenty-seven, is a drug addict and, as the newspaper statement says, has reached the end of his trail,—a life sentence in a state prison. But as this man "has no fear of prisons" he philosophically accepts his fate. Practically every correctional agency of the state, including children's courts, probation, parole, reformatories, and state prisons have had a chance to do something for this man, but the existing public correctional agencies have failed to solve the problem presented by Joseph and the members of his family. The offense for which Joseph received a life sentence was attempted burglary in the third degree. He had been indicted for grand larceny, second degree; burglary, third degree; and criminally receiving stolen property. According to the statement of the police, he was arrested with the other two members of the gang for forcibly entering an apartment and stealing a violin, a radio, and a ring.

Joseph's brother, John, who was an accomplice in this last crime was not born when Joseph made his first appearance before the Children's Court in 1907, charged with juvenile delinquency. . . .

Besides Joseph there are six other children in this now notorious family; three sisters and three brothers, the youngest fourteen and the oldest twenty-nine. The girls of the family, so far as known, have been and are law-abiding, but Joseph's three brothers are known to the police and have appeared before the courts. Henry, age twenty-nine, now married, served a term in the New York City Penitentiary. Frank, now twenty-four, has a criminal record that is as bad as Joseph's, and at present he is an inmate of a state prison. His first appearance in court was at the age of ten, but even before this court appearance, he had been arrested three times and let go. At fourteen he had been in a disciplinary school for truants, and twice in a private sectarian correctional institution. Since that time he has been in Elmira, and Sing Sing.

John, now eighteen, first appeared in the Children's Court on the complaint of the school principal who charged that he was wilfully disobedient and truant from school, and that his home was unfit for habitation. . . . The boy was placed on probation. In less than five months he with two other boys was arrested in Brooklyn at two o'clock in the morning for shooting craps. For this offense he was committed to a sectarian correctional institution for juvenile delinquents, paroled, and later recommitted to this same institution on a charge of incorrigibility. Since 1922 he has been arrested on several occasions, and has served a term in the New York City Reformatory, and is now in the State Reformatory at Elmira.

His family still lives in the basement rooms of a tenement, housing twenty other families, and pay \$9 a month rent. The rooms are fairly clean and tidy, but the neighborhood is a congested one. Except that the girls have married, the family conditions are practically the same as they were twenty years ago.

To say the least, this life term has not come from very desirable surroundings. Reared in impoverished conditions by parents noted for their loose methods of life, undisciplined, he practically grew up on the streets; a member of at least two gangs, "The Cherry Boys" and "Cowboy Tessler's"; associating with criminals, never taking any religion seriously, acquiring the drug habit before he was twenty, arrested frequently, appearing before courts, and in and out of correctional institutions for nearly twenty years, today society does not know whether Joseph G— is feeble-minded, psychopathic, or insane (pp. 76-78).

Child Placing in Ohio. Prepared and edited by ESTHER McCLAIN. Ohio Department of Public Welfare, Division of Charities, Columbus, Ohio, 1928. Pp. 88.

This report contains a short history of the care of dependent children in Ohio and the later developments in child-placing, together with reports on the present county welfare boards in Ross, Brown, Morgan, Lake, and Mercer counties, child-placing by juvenile courts, and child-placing by private institutions and agencies. There is finally a good account of the present Ohio plan of boarding-out children with private families with a chapter on "Present Trends and Goals for the Future." One chapter deals with mothers' aid versus child-placing and one with the health problems of the placed-out child. The reports of various local workers and supervisors have been included in this very useful report, which will be of interest to agencies and workers concerned with children's problems.

Children of Illegitimate Birth Whose Mothers Have Kept Their Custody (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 190). By A. MADORAH DONAHUE. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. v + 105. \$0.20.

This study, made at the request of a number of agencies and institutions, reviews the legislation that has been enacted in behalf of children born out of wedlock, but gives special attention to the histories of children who have been enabled to remain either with their mothers or with some relative.

As in the cases of all dependent children, questions arise as to whether or not the child is to be separated from his natural environment; and if separated, whether to be cared for by adoption, given other forms of foster home care, or placed in an institution. At the present time, all the presumptions are in favor of leaving the legitimate child with his own family; in the case of the child born out of wedlock, however, the status of the mother is still one of such cruel social disapprobation that no such presumption exists in favor of leaving mother and child together. Those who believe in the significance of the blood relationship to both mother and child, in the value of the experience of motherhood to the mother, in the inherent possibilities even in an incomplete family group, desire to try out by genuinely skilled experiments the care of the child by the mother. It is a question, of course, of the resources available in the community, of the skill and sympathy of the social worker, and of the courage and responsiveness of the mother.

The cases selected for study included only children eight years of age or over who were well established in their communities, maintaining the usual relationships that constitute the child's world, as in school, in church, or in Sunday school. The retention of the child's legal custody by the mother rather than the promise of actual physical care or support constituted one of the conditions of

inclusion. In all, 253 histories were obtained suitable to be included in the study. They were supplied by 27 organizations in 11 cities.

These organizations include 14 maternity homes, 6 children's agencies, 1 giving probation care to girls, 1 doing both family and child welfare work, 3 juvenile courts, and 2 public departments doing family welfare and relief work. With reference to the practice of these agencies, it may be said that 26 of the 27 made some investigation in order to be of service to the mother in making plans for her and her child; 18 used case-work methods of investigation, and 8—all maternity homes—limited their investigation to facts related by the mother herself and those contributed by her visitors and gleaned from her correspondence. Four of these 8 maternity homes reported that some of their patients were received from social agencies making investigations. One institution, however, kept no records, thinking that to do so would constitute a breach of confidence.

The history of the cases contain several distinguishable periods, each presenting its own difficulties. There is the prenatal care, the cost of confinement, the readjustment after leaving the maternity home—often involving assistance, provision for the temporary care of the child, and frequently finding employment.

On the subject of the mother's assuming the status of a legitimate mother, i.e., acknowledging the fact that the child is born out of wedlock and assuming the responsibilities, there is a definite difference of opinion; but there are those who, like Dr. Richard Cabot, insist on the importance of veracity in social work and who are able to report that "only good results have come from the policy of open admission of the true status of the mother and child." The comment on these data is that "the matter resolves itself into a question of the personal approach to the mother and the care taken to insure that she and her child have a protected position in the community in which they begin their ordeal of reinstatement in society."

With regard to establishing paternal responsibility, over against the mother's right to conceal should be placed the child's right to knowledge of his two parents. In more than a third of the cases information about the father was totally lacking, and in many more it was very limited. The comment here is that "from the standpoint of case work the omission is not understandable," except among certain older organizations "whose motives have always been moral reclamation of the mothers and whose workers have had a sincere conviction that their aims would be accomplished best by discouraging any association between the girl and the man involved with her. For this reason these workers have tried to avoid any reference to the man while the girl was in their care."

With reference to supervision of the case after discharge from actual care it was found that organizations with advanced standards are providing definitely for continuing contact, which serves the double purpose of furnishing advice and assistance to the mothers and of preserving the record of service

rendered. This record, continuing through the life of the children, will show oftentimes the wisdom or unwisdom of the plans formulated for them by the organizations. Some of the older organizations were able to provide definite information on the children years after rendering service to them.

The details of the various plans for these children cannot be presented, but the findings of this useful study suggest that the following measures are desirable in assisting unmarried mothers to keep their children with them:

1. Affiliation of maternity homes with children's agencies in order that provision may be made for supervision of children when they are discharged from a maternity home.
 2. Provision by social agencies for temporary care in boarding homes or institutions for unmarried mothers and their children who are not readily adjusted in the home of relatives, in their places of employment, or in other family homes.
 3. Greater willingness on the part of both public and private agencies to aid unmarried mothers in caring for their children.
 4. More intensive attempts by social agencies to establish paternity in order that part, at least, of the support of children of illegitimate birth may be obtained from their fathers.
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Child Labor in New Jersey. Part II. Children Engaged in Industrial Home Work (United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 185). By MARY SKINNER. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928. Pp. v+62. \$0.15.

This is one of several studies of the administration of public welfare and child-caring legislation made by the Children's Bureau at the request of the New Jersey officials and adds another body of evidence to that already available with reference to the interstate character of the child employment problem and the resulting difficulty of regulating that employment through isolated action by the several states. New York and Pennsylvania have tried to prevent home work manufacturing and the employment of small children; but they have not been able to prevent New York and Pennsylvania manufacturers from putting work out into New Jersey homes; and finishing men's clothing, beading and embroidering women's dresses, scalloping handkerchiefs and lace, making bead jewelry, carding buttons and safety pins, were only a few of about fifty different occupations in which young children were found to be engaged as regular workers, many of them on contracts let from New York City, Philadelphia, or factories in other communities in the two great neighboring states.

New Jersey, therefore, has an importance in industrial home work far beyond the extent to which its own manufacturers make use of the home-work system. In New Jersey not only is the child-labor law not construed to apply to work done for factories in homes, but the sweatshop law under which industrial home work is regulated, and licenses are issued, does not regulate the employment of children nor place the penalty for violation of its provisions

upon the employer. Manufacturers shipping home work into New Jersey from New York or Pennsylvania, as employers residing outside the state, can seldom if ever be prosecuted under the New Jersey laws regulating industrial home work, and as regards work shipped into New Jersey, they are beyond the jurisdiction of the home-work laws of their own states.

Home work of course lends itself readily to the employment of children, and one of its outstanding features is the tendency on the part of the parents to use the labor of even the youngest members of the family. In one household visited by a Children's Bureau agent, three children, nine, four, and three years of age, opened safety pins while a grandmother, an aunt, and two children of ten and nine years carded them.

Of the 1,131 children under sixteen included in the study who were regular home workers, only approximately one-fifth were fourteen or older. Nineteen children only six years of age and six even younger were in the group.

The state department of labor has made efforts to discourage the use of children in home work by prosecuting employers under the New Jersey child welfare act, which penalizes employing a child in work injurious to his health, and by warning home workers that their licenses would be revoked if children assisted in the work.

In most cases 628 families included in the study reported that home work was undertaken to supplement an inadequate family income, but the work actually added little to their incomes. Of 334 families who kept an account of their yearly earnings from home work, almost half reported that they had made less than \$100 in the twelve months.

While the majority of the homes visited were clean and in fairly good condition, in many there were evidences of extreme filth. One home-work shop was the very dirty kitchen of a three-room flat where a woman and her three children made powder puffs while two dirty children played on the floor, and a goat was seen coming out of the door as the bureau agent entered. In twenty-seven homes work had been carried on while some member of the family was suffering from a communicable disease.

Although the New Jersey sweatshop law requires that homes in which work is done be licensed by the state department of labor, only 73 of the 628 families visited were licensed.

List of Psychiatric Clinics for Children in the United States (United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 171). Washington, D.C., 1929. Pp. 28.

The Children's Bureau in this publication makes available a list of the numerous psychiatric clinics. Inclusion in the list published by the Bureau carries no implication regarding the quality of the work done in the clinic, and the list is not an approved list but a guide to the location of clinics offering psychiatric examinations for children. There are listed 338 clinics in 37 states. The number

of clinics varies greatly from state to state. For thirteen states a single clinic is listed, but in the state of New York there are 197, 33 of which are in New York City.

Industrial Transference Board Report. Presented by the MINISTER OF LABOUR to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, July, 1928 (Cmd. 3156). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1928. Pp. 83. 1s. 6d.

The modern theory of the mobility of labor seems to be entirely illusory in the face of an official report like this one of the English Transference Board, which was appointed last year by the British Minister of Labour "for the purpose of facilitating the transfer of workers . . . for whom opportunities of employment in their own district are no longer available." Here is a picture of persistent, chronic unemployment, the outstanding feature of which is that it is "frozen"—highly concentrated in relatively small areas in or about the coal fields of England and Wales. Some large communities have been entirely dependent on the coal industry, while in others the only alternative employment outside of coal-mining is in the iron and steel industry and, to some extent, in shipbuilding.

These areas, which enjoyed almost unbroken expansion before and during the war, have since about 1920 been the prey of continuing depression affecting simultaneously all the basic industries, depriving large numbers of people of their only means of livelihood and leaving the future darkly precarious for those remaining in their former homes. Until recently, recovery from the depression has been expected; but now, after nearly a decade, it is said definitely and officially that it is unwise to count upon any return to the old pre-war state in the so-called "heavy industries," particularly in coal-mining.

With proper mobility of labor a speedy evacuation of the "depressed areas" would occur, but we are told by the Industrial Transference Board that "a number of difficulties lie in the way." First, that in these particular communities people have been living in comparative isolation and dependent "for generations" on industries no longer in need of their labor. We are told also, strange as it may seem, that in these same areas there are strongly developed ties of home and locality which give these communities "their strength of endurance and cohesion." Americans who have known immigrants from these same areas must wonder whether it is not the difficulty of securing employment elsewhere rather than their rooted aversion to moving that makes these unfortunate people prefer to remain starving in the homes of their fathers rather than to migrate.

The second difficulty noted would seem to be the more important one—the difficulty of absorbing this surplus labor in other parts of the country. The Industrial Transference Board puts it this way:

While industry is by no means stagnant, no single industry which requires heavy labour is now expanding on the necessary scale. In fact such industries as are expanding

today, e.g., electrical engineering, motor car manufacture, artificial silk, furniture-making, printing and publishing, are, in the main, machine industries, which obtain a high rate of productivity with a relatively small labour force. The problems of absorbing a surplus from the heavy industries are reorganizing themselves upon a labour-saving basis, and if, for various reasons, they are not actually discharging labour, they are in many cases not engaging new labour on a scale which increasing output would otherwise require. Moreover, there is no industry or district in Great Britain where there is not some unemployment, as recorded on the registers of employment exchanges, and this fact has been used in the past and will be used in the future by both parties in industry and by local interests as a ground for a plea of enforced inability to assist in the work of transfer.

The report of the Industrial Transference Board sharply differentiates British from American psychology. The statement that it is difficult to move jobless people from a place where the local industries "for generations" furnished employment to their fathers sounds more complicated than it is. After all, very few men and women today want to work in the same way their ancestors worked "for generations." To move from a community where there are no jobs, and are never likely to be any, to places where jobs can be found does not seem to an American so fraught with difficulties. This continent has been peopled by men and women who refused to starve or even to live meagerly in jobless places simply because their parents—let alone their grandparents or great-grandparents or those even farther removed—lived and worked there.

The factors said to be necessary as a basis for a transference policy are three:

1. The personal will to move, on the part of the unemployed who must also be prepared to take some risks
2. The active help of employers and workers in all industries, and of all agencies and private persons who can assist in finding employment in Britain or overseas
3. Necessary help by training and by grants toward the cost of moving, "to encourage the will to move"

In discussing "the will to move," the Board notes the following difficulties: availability of unemployment benefit and poor relief, the reluctance of employers, workers and the State to recognise the contraction in the labour requirements of the heavy industries as more than a transitory problem; the existence of unemployment elsewhere, and the unwillingness to take risks.

While the continued unemployment of 200,000 workers, many of whom have dependents, is not only serious but tragic, still the numbers are small, and with proper governmental assistance the permanent removal of these workers does not seem an impossibly difficult problem.

Social workers will be interested in the discussions of the juvenile problem, especially the juvenile-unemployment centers, the effect of social insurance on migration, and the problem of overseas migration in relation to this particular problem.

Unemployment Insurance Acts, 1920 to 1926, Decisions Given by the Umpire Respecting Claims to Benefit. Vol. VI (U. I, 440). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1928. Pp. 238. 7s. 6d.

This collection of selected decisions rendered officially in connection with the administration of the British Unemployment Insurance Acts is extremely valuable to students and, as we have commented before, illustrates the weakness of our American administrative practice in various fields which without the publication of decisions leave the public uninformed as to how the administrative officers are actually interpreting a law.

The *New Statesman* called attention late in the fall to the charges of Mr. Broad, a Labour M.P., who produced a copy of instructions said to have been circulated by the Ministry of Labour to the Employment Exchanges, which appeared to be for the purpose of tightening up the administration of the Unemployment Insurance fund so as to reduce the demands upon it. The charge was made in the editorial column of the *New Statesman* that the "government having based the rates of contribution on an absurdly optimistic estimate of the future course of employment, is now trying to escape the consequences of its error by ruthlessly depriving people of benefit, even when they are really entitled to it." But the decisions cited in this volume give no evidence of any general lack of fair play.

There are a number of interesting decisions respecting the status of workers who appeared to have conflicting claims both for unemployment relief and old-age pensions under the new law. Case No. 2398/27 (p. 156) is one of those in which a man granted an old-age pension preferred to continue his former status without it. We quote this case summary in full:

The applicant's claim for unemployment benefit was disallowed as from the 14th March, 1927, on the ground that he was in receipt of an Old Age Pension. He stated that although the pension had been authorised as from 14th March he had not in fact drawn upon it, and had surrendered the pension book as he expected early reinstatement in his former employment.

Recommended by the Court of Referees that the claim should be allowed.

Subsequently the applicant signed a formal relinquishment of his claim to pension, and deposited it with the Pension Authorities.

Decision.—On the facts before me, my decision is that the claim for benefit should be allowed.

Within a few days of receiving his Old Age Pension book, applicant returned it to the Pension Officer without receiving any pension, and with a notification that he did not wish to draw any. Since that time he has taken such further steps as amount to an unconditional withdrawal of his claim, whereby he will not be able to obtain any pension until he has made a fresh claim to it.

In these circumstances, I feel justified in saying that he has not been in receipt of an Old Age Pension so as to deprive him of his right to unemployment benefit, and that such benefit may be allowed as from the date when he claimed it.

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